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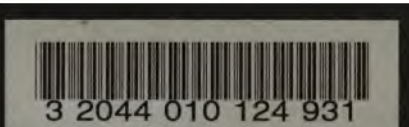
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SECRET HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848.

MEMOIRS

OF

CITIZEN CAUSSIDIERE,

EX-PREFECT OF POLICE, AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE.

"It is for slaves to lie, and for freemen to speak truth."—MONTAIGNE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

To my Fellow-Citizens!

Called by my political opinions to take an active part in the events which preceded and followed the Revolution of February, I have thought it expedient and proper to supply a correct account of those with which I was more or less concerned.

I have endeavoured to adhere to the truth in this narrative; at the same time, that I have wished to make known my impressions, and to point out the democratic principles which actuated me.

I have felt it my duty not to leave any further opening to calumny, after this exposition of my acts.

A victim of odious imputations, I may, nevertheless, say, that I do not even yet relinquish the hope of serving a cause which, in common with many thousands, I have at heart, and which is that of the Republican Democratic and Socialist people. I shall not pollute the pages of this book with scandalous revelations, for above all things, I wish to preserve intact the dignity of the Representative of the People.

Too many resentments and grovelling passions have agitated the men of the day. I shall not seek to add to their number by divulging the deplorable cases of private dishonesty that have come under my knowledge. Let them remain hidden.

If I do accuse, my denunciation shall only be of that policy, and of those men,

who first misled and then thwarted the revolution. Surely they cannot expect me to praise them.

This book, therefore, is not to be regarded as proceeding from the petulance or vindictive feelings of an exile.

My object in writing it has been to throw some light upon the strange history of a sudden revolution, which already is almost effaced. I have also deemed it necessary to explain the labours of my administration, and the reforms I endeavoured to introduce.

If I did not succeed in doing all the good I wished, it is because I had not the necessary time. My intentions at least were always honest and sincere, and in harmony with my principles.

London :
November 25, 1848.

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THE MONARCHY IN 1847.

UNTIL the commencement of 1847, the monarchical power seemed gradually to have gained in strength, and to the superficial observer appeared firmly established in France. Success apparently had crowned all its efforts in every combination of its policy and dynastic interests. With the exception of one blow, struck by the hand of fate, which suddenly carried off the heir to the throne, the dauphin of the junior branch, fortune had in no measure thwarted the projects and the good luck of the aged monarch, whom his courtiers, anticipating history, designated by the most glorious titles. Did not his very ministers, in the curious letters discovered in February, place Louis Philippe far above Louis XIV, and Napoleon?

Thus the SYSTEM, as it was first called, grew apace, and by degrees the mask was withdrawn that concealed its ulterior views. Audacious impudence was substituted for the wily policy of fifteen years.

At home dynastic interests governed every negotiation, and this selfish conspiracy seconded the influences of an absolutist diplomacy against the interests of the nation.

To compensate for the Spanish marriages, which brought to the House of Orleans a present dowry of thirty millions, with a probable crown in reversion, the other powers were allowed in the first instance to efface the last vestiges of Poland, and French arms were freely given to the Jesuits of the Sonderbund.

As regards the foreign relations of our country, the king had concentrated every influence in his own family, and had prematurely divided between his sons the government of France. The future regent had been made a sort of Lord High Constable, a commander-in-chief of all the armies; the Duke d'Aumale had been constituted Viceroy of Algeria, which was now a fief of the crown; the Prince de Joinville

had been appointed Lord High Admiral, and commander of the navy; the Duke de Montpensier supreme commander of the artillery in the fortress of Vincennes, an arsenal ready furnished with materials for the fortifications. Royalty in thus seizing upon the military power, flattered itself with the belief that it would be able to domineer over the destinies of the French people.

At the same time, the court, the ministers, the inferior functionaries, the aristocrats, swallowed up the financial resources of the nation. The civil list laid a heavy hand on the domains, and carved broad acres out of the forests of the state; the budget was so modified as to satisfy the cravings of the servants of the home government, and the Red-book displayed to our view the spectacle of marquises, ambassadors, generals, countesses, and millionaires eating up the secret service money. The public offices, commissariat, national institutions, were made the objects of shameful corruption; and thus venality, which had its source in the cabinet of the ministers, spread in many streams through all the ministerial branches, and only

stayed its course at the extreme verge of this political hierarchy. The most scandalous appointments, the monopoly of public offices by privileged families, and an almost hereditary claim favoured by the Government in the high elective offices,—everything tended to encourage at the core of the official world, corruption, sordid passions, and vulgar instincts.

The princes had resuscitated the frightful morals of the Regency or of the Directory. Each of them was surrounded by a petty court of his own of *intrigans* and *roués*. There were royal hunts and races at Chantilly or Compiègne; days of gallantry and nights spent at the card table; Venetian festivities on the very ground of Canonville which was prepared to receive the grape-shot of the forts.

And on the morrow all these sons of sin went to receive the communion at St. Roch, with the devotees of the old regime. Hypocrisy was the bosom friend of Immorality, and never did the juggleries of the old faith stand higher in favour than in these days of dissolution. The youth of the Faubourg St. Germain aped the Court, and crowded round the priests and

Jesuits: and Paris, to its great astonishment, beheld monks of all kinds proposing to confess the women, direct the men, and educate the children.

The deputies speculated with their political functions; peers of France patronised gambling in the funds; bankers monopolized the press, which had been already decimated by the laws of September. The Jew of kings and king of Jews had gained over the leading periodicals, and the voice of journalism was stifled at the same time as that of the French tribune.

Thus, all the higher classes abandoned themselves, in their fear of public opinion, to the study of their material interests, a study inoculated by the perversion of the monarchical system.

France, however, was suffering in the very heart and soul of her existence. The land of enthusiasm and generous impulses thus depraved in her customs, wounded in all the normal conditions of a great nation, could not support this fatal oppression much longer, and fate itself seemed to assume the task of putting an end to it.

The evil suddenly manifested itself externally, and seized hold upon those who had hoped to profit by it. A terrible crisis in the finances, the obviously impending ruin of every branch of industry, aroused at once capitalists, speculators, manufacturers, and merchants from their lethargy.

The result of the most desperate gambling in railway scrip, which had renewed the follies of the Rue Quincampoix in the time of Law, was, that though some skilful financiers had realized millions, the Bank, the brokers, and all those blind individuals who had lost their way in this *forêt de Bondy*, found themselves ultimately thrown pell-mell upon each other. With the exception of two or three directors of the Northern Railway, who had doubled their capital, and of Madame Adelaide, who—if report speaks true—cleared twenty millions, the remainder of the railway speculators were sooner or later involved in utter ruin by the varying chances of the game. The very provinces were deeply compromised; Lyons was a loser to the amount of something like fifty millions, whilst Bordeaux, Alby, and other

cities of the south, were unable to meet their engagements. The circulation of a paper currency was all but put a stop to, and from Paris bankruptcy spread to the departments.

All the great centres of commercial activity were moreover depressed. The manufactories of Lyons, Nîmes, Mulhouse, Roubaix, Rouen, &c., were overstocked, without any home-market for their goods, in consequence of the depression of commerce in general; and the export market was closed to them by foreign competition, which was favoured by the heavy customs' duties. Many manufacturing cities found themselves compelled to give up the fabrication of certain wares, and to abandon speculations that entailed risk, and yet, in the very midst of this long-engendered though latent crisis, the number of speculators aspiring to visionary wealth had increased in an absurd proportion, when compared with the commercial necessities, the increase of the population, and the consequent demands of consumption. Indeed, so greatly had their number enlarged, that their blindfold and insensate competition had caused a reduction in the

wages of the workman, and consequently frequent strikes, poverty among the labouring classes, the ruin of the manufacturer—in a word, universal misery, alike to master and to operative.

And how did the Bank of France act under these circumstances? It reduced its rate of discount and increased its rate of interest, in direct opposition to the avowed object of the institution; and this was done for the benefit of shareholders, at the cost of universal discomfort and public distress.

It was even rumoured, that instead of coming to the aid of industry, commerce and financial operations, a portion of its capital had been employed, in conjunction with the Court, in speculating in foreign grain. For the failure of the crops and the fears of a famine had arrived to increase the amount of existing calamities.

As had been the case in 1788, on the eve of the first revolution, France was obliged to buy her provisions of grain from the foreigner. Three hundred millions of specie left France in this manner, never to return. Speculation was

not behindhand in turning to account this national misfortune. Scarcely had they cast anchor in our southern ports, when these vessels freighted with grain were quoted on 'change, and their cargoes were not landed for consumption until a host of speculators had made their profits out of them. As an instance, we may cite the arrival of a vessel at Marseilles, in November 1847, the cargo of which passed through the hands of ten different buyers. The price of the grain imported was thus raised, in a factitious manner, to an enormous height, and this at a time when the small landed proprietors and farmers, allured by the prospect of great profits, or deterred by the fears of a famine, refused to send their grain to the market.

The consequence was, that the greatest agitation manifested itself in some of the departments. The working classes, both in town and country, were thunderstruck at the apathy or carelessness of the government in this difficult crisis; threats were soon fulminated by the poorer classes against the forestallers and hoarders, and an excitement almost general led to the most terrible scenes in some

districts, where the people were clamouring for bread.

The Government replied by bayonets, by judges and jailors, and, alas, be it said, by the executioner! With its hands already stained crimson, royalty unscrupulously shed the blood of the operatives of Buzançais.

But Providence seemed to take a pleasure in putting to the test by a series of disasters, the old monarchy, which deserved to bear the responsibility of them. In addition to the famine, came the inundations of the Loire, partly caused by landslips, partly by the faulty construction of the embankments and the want of canalization; accidents on railways, abandoned to the avidity or negligence of private companies; conflagrations, provoked, perhaps, by misery, or effected, as was the case at Mourillon—so at least it was said—by hands interested in concealing the plunder of the provisions of the nation. In Paris, in other cities, and even on the highways, bands of brigands were formed to the detriment of public safety, and against the property and life of citizens; brokers were assassinated in their counting-houses in open

day. For the sum of thirty sous, carriers were murdered in their waggons. Men who had fallen by their own hands were laid side by side with those who had died of hunger, and every species of crime cried aloud against the corruption of private morals, and the deterioration of national prosperity under this government of privilege, of selfishness, and of corruption.

Signs of a more striking character came to the condemnation of the monarchy, and assisted in tearing away what remained of the veil which for seventeen years had hidden the criminal oppression of the French people.

The most significant revelations rapidly succeeded each other; the most unforeseen accidents caused consternation among public opinion; and the gangrene of the social system, even as the king, the court, and the aristocracy had effected it, appeared in all its fearful reality.

A minister, a peer of France, and a millionaire, were dragged before the tribunals, and found guilty; a prince was convicted of forgery; an aide-de-camp of the regent was banished as a swindler; an ambassador of the king com-

mitted suicide under the most mysterious circumstances; another ambassador attempted to draw a razor across the throats of his children; a secretary of the minister and a peer of France were convicted of selling public offices for gold. In the commissariat department of war and marine, the agents of the king embezzled the finances or the property of the state, and committed every species of fraud; and when the public voice endeavoured to make itself heard, the ministers denounced from the tribune as calumnies, facts which were afterwards verified by judicial investigation. The ministries were the foci of all these shameful transactions: theatrical privileges were sold for the maintenance of shameless journals, or for the propagation of immoral publications, which bore the stamp of the princes. Large sums were raised on every side to be distributed in favours which public honesty repudiated. Equivocal anecdotes were repeated respecting personages in high station, some of which told of intestine dissension in the family of the king.

At the same time the halls of the public

tribunals resounded with celebrated trials, in which friends of the Chateau, the favourites of the princes, figured in duels and bacchanalian orgies, carried on in a world of Greek *gentils-hommes* with elegant manners and great vices. And in this gallery of royal notabilities, swindling attorneys, members of holy institutions accused of rape and assassination, galley slaves in kid gloves, and decorated thieves, found a place. One of these trials was especially and severely felt by the court and by the aristocracy. A minister of the king, a peer of France, was sentenced to imprisonment. Shortly afterwards, a chevalier of the queen, a peer of France, was condemned as a murderer, and committed suicide by poison, with the assistance, or at least the tacit connivance of his friends, that the blood of a noble duke might not flow on the same scaffold as that of the martyrs of Buzançais.

Such was the state of society under the monarchy in 1847, which the reactionists pretend to be able to reinstate, in despite of the Revolution.

All these terrible symptoms, however, were

true indications to the clear-sighted, that the old social order was crumbling to pieces, and that it was the duty of France to undertake her own regeneration. Were not these disasters, these crimes, this prostration of the French character, so many timely warnings to the people, and at the same time a punishment to royalty and to those besotted classes that supported it? What needed it more to brand that system of cunning and selfishness, which certain parties had mistaken for policy and skill?

The Court was in consternation, and as the avenging power struck it like a thunderbolt—whilst the people were dying of hunger—on the 31st December—the companion of old Philippe, who had often acted as a guide to him through his long and tortuous career, the sister of the king, was breathing her last at the Tuileries, from which the Orleans family were shortly to be driven for ever.

It is said that the king shed tears over that corpse. He also shed tears on the death-bed of his friend Talleyrand.

THE MINISTRY AND THE OPPOSITION.

THE political situation of France was as wretched and menacing as its moral condition. For many years the Government had been in the hands of men odious to the country. The prime minister was a man who, in speaking of the slavery of the people, said, "Labour is a check."

The junior monarchy might boast of its Polignac.

The other ministers, especially those of the Interior and Justice, were indebted for their places to their absolute devotion to the personal system and to the readiness they had shown to support a policy of corruption and tyranny. The one was known by his immense fortune, his scepticism, and his skill in handling the administration and the electoral influences; the other by his violence against the press and against liberty, and by his invention of *complicité morale!* Both of them, all three of them, were deterred by no sacrifice of the national prosperity at home, or the national dignity abroad.

Politics had become a delusion, a falsehood —merchandize to be bought or sold—France a shop in the hands of dishonest traders. All generous tendencies, all intelligent aspirations were crushed; the lectures on history, literature, and philosophy, the delight of youth, were suspended; the journals and all independent characters were persecuted; the hatred felt for the people of the Revolution was openly avowed in the tribune, at court, and in the mercenary journals.

And the consequence was, that all classes of the nation began gradually to awaken from the lethargy into which they had fallen. The electors, the *bourgeoisie*, the shopkeeper, and the merchant, hitherto the accomplices of this odious regime, became at length aware that it was absorbing all the sources of the public wealth, and that it turned only to the profit of the intriguers that swarmed in the train of the Government. The National Guard showed indications of a smouldering hostility, so much so that the Government might have been defied to order a review. The split between the dynastic opposition and the majority became

gradually wider, and numbers of the old conservative party daily joined its ranks. Many eminent men of both chambers were seen suddenly converted, and attacking with extreme violence the ministry and the Court, of which they were previously the most zealous defenders. The Government thus became gradually isolated in its selfishness, and the Court was shortly to find itself alone, opposed face to face with the constitutional country, from whose eyes the bandage had been removed, and of the people who had always protested by murmurs against the monarch, and who nourished in their hearts the hope of the dawn of liberty and of justice—a democratic and social republic.

At the conclusion of the session of 1847, the dynastic opposition, and the committees established by the fraction who demanded electoral reform, met, by way of a great public demonstration, at the *Chateau Rouge*, where fifteen hundred citizens, deputies, electors, journalists, and officers of the National Guard, proclaimed reform, and denounced the policy of the Chateau. The agitation soon spread throughout France, and patriotic banquets were held in

most of the departments. The deputies present rendered an account of the session which had just closed, and of the indignation felt at Paris. The population crowded from all quarters to these meetings, where the general sentiment manifested itself in the expression of a vague desire of reform. The public honour was vindicated by this general enthusiasm, and in a few months a sort of secret league existed in the nation against its oppressors.

Two distinct characters were however visible in this great popular commotion. The party of the people, which had lent its support to the deputies of the left, and which had often been compelled to hear hypocritical toasts in honour of the king and monarchy, given at the same board where toasts were proposed in honour of the sovereignty of the people and of liberty;—this republican party had its banquets, its speakers, and its triumphs. Whilst M. Barrot and his adherents made vows and offerings at Béthune and other places, of their devotion to constitutional royalty;—whilst they made subservient to their own passions and interested ambition the nobler agitators of the country, the true patriots

hitherto scarcely represented in the Chamber and in the public press, found warm and numerous supporters in the departments of the North, East, and South. At Lille the Royalists were obliged to retreat before the Republic. At Dijon, Châlons, Toulouse, and Limoges, royalty was completely effaced at the prospect of political and even of social reform. The great junction, hallowed by French tradition, of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, suppressed for half a century, gradually raised its head, and reasserted the full consciousness of its power, in the van of resuscitated freedom.

At the opening of the following session, the Court and the ministry found the whole of France prepared for a struggle, the issue of which was even then evident. But royalty, blinded by a success of seventeen years, encouraged by a corrupted majority in both Chambers, cajoled by the flatteries of its organs and its accomplices, and having the weakness and undeniable incapacity of the *bourgeoisie* of the Opposition, flattered itself that it could stifle the national sentiment. It reckoned upon the popular element, which,

however, on the day of battle, picked up the sword cowardly cast away by the friends of the dynasty, and at one tremendous blow made all the enemies of the future bite the dust.

The royal speech, at the opening of the Chambers, had the audacity, in a memorable paragraph, to attribute the commotion in France to blind and hostile passions (*passions aveugles et ennemies*); but nothing was more true, for those two words were most justly applicable to the dynastic opposition which was preparing without knowing, and without deserving it, a popular revolution; and they were equally applicable to the Republican party, now solely occupied with the overthrow of the monarchy.

History does not perhaps offer a more remarkable feature than the reply made to the king in the two projects of address of the Chamber of Peers and of the Chamber of Deputies.

The Chamber of Peers said:—"Noisy manifestations, blindly blended with vague ideas of reform and of progress; passions hostile to our constitutional monarchy; opinions subversive of social order, and detestable reminiscences, have

caused anxiety rather than alarm in the public. The Government has found it necessary to take notice of these. We are persuaded that such agitation, tolerated by a regime of liberty, is powerless against public order. Yes, sire, the union of the great powers of the state, the efficacy of the law, and the common sense of the public, will suffice to preserve the tranquillity of the country, to call back the misguided, and to dissipate insensate hopes. Finally, the seventeen years during which our beloved country has enjoyed at the same time order and liberty, are something more than a phasis of our revolutions. This period is the commencement of a lasting era, and will bequeath to future generations the maintenance of the Charter, the blessings of your rule, and the glory of your name."

The Chamber of Deputies added, with as much foresight:—"Sire, by devoting yourself to the service of our country with that courage which nothing daunts, by consecrating your life, and that of your children, to the care of our interests, of our dignity, you consolidate each successive day the edifice you and our-

selves constructed. Count upon our support in assisting you to defend it." "Agitation, which has given birth to hostile feelings and blind aberrations, will fall before the common sense of a public, enlightened by our discussions, and by the free utterance of all legitimate opinions. In a constitutional monarchy, the combination of the great powers of the state overcomes every obstacle, and allows all the moral and material interests of the country to be satisfied. By that union, sire, we will maintain social order and all its attributes; we will guarantee public liberty and all its developments. Our Charter of 1830, transmitted by us to the generation that will follow us, as a sacred deposit (*inviolable dépôt*), will ensure to them the most precious inheritance which it is the lot of nations to receive, —the union of order and liberty."

One month afterwards, that "sacred deposit," that "precious inheritance," which was to be handed down to future generations, had disappeared in the tempest, and the glorious monarch fell a miserable victim of public contempt!

These beautiful themes of MM. Barante and Vitet gave rise to very violent discussions in both Chambers. The Chamber of Peers, wonderful to relate, resounded with praises of the Convention, and denunciations against the tyrants of Europe; but the Address was voted by a majority of 144 votes against 23. Thus, in that Chamber of illustrious names and sage old men—the re-establishment of which is even now demanded as a necessity by the counter-revolutionists—144 great politicians were found to proclaim the blessings of an execrated reign, and to affirm its duration.

This took place on the 18th of January. In the Chamber of Deputies the discussion expanded over a wide extent of debateable ground. The right of holding meetings was defended with brilliant eloquence, by men who have since abolished, not only that, but the right of combination, and who have closed the Clubs; that is to say, by MM. Duvergier de Hauranne, Rémusat, Dufaure, and Malleville; by M. Marie, who was at the time accused of attacking *l'ordre, la famille et la propriété;* by M. Odilon Barrot, who com-

menced his speech with the following words: —"It is sad, painful, humiliating, to be obliged in 1848, seventeen years after the Revolution of July, to have to contend against a government, the offspring of that Revolution, for the possession of a right which we enjoyed under Charles X.;" by M. Ledru Rollin, who traced back the right of holding meetings (*le droit de réunion*), to 1791, and the right of combination to the storming of the Bastille; by M. de Lamartine, who reproached the Government for "placing the hand of the police on the mouth of the country," as the present Government places the hand of the military upon it.

MM. Hébert and Duchâtel, on their part, contested the legality of the *droit de réunion*, as did M. Guizot in the Chamber of Peers. Grounding their arguments on a law passed in 1790, they declared that they should in future oppose any political banquet; and the dynastic opposition had not the courage to reply to this challenge, by announcing from the tribune its resolution to exercise a right sanctioned by the voice of the whole nation.

After this fine passage of words, the right

was abolished, and the hundred deputies who had participated in the banquets, were stigmatized as blind and factious, by a vote of 223 Conservatives on the special motion, and by 241 on the bringing up of the address.

The question, nevertheless, remained in abeyance; there was a question of fact beside the question of right, which the majority of the Chamber had solved in so contradictory a manner. The series of banquets was to be closed by a grand banquet, to be held in the twelfth arrondissement, under the patronage of the deputies. The day had been fixed before the parliamentary discussion, but the Prefect of Police had placed his *veto* upon it; and in the interpellations made in the two Chambers, the ministry declared that it took upon itself the responsibility of that interdiction, and that the banquet should not take place.

The hundred stigmatized deputies had not resigned, with one exception, and contented themselves with promising to attend the banquet of the twelfth arrondissement; for the committee of the banquet, consisting of electors and journalists, had persevered in organizing

this pacific manifestation. But on both sides, on the side of the ruling power as well as on that of the dynastic opposition, fear, which gradually assumed the form of terror, was awakened. The ministry now would willingly have made some concessions, and the royalist members of the committee, of their own accord, sought to alter the character of the banquet by indicating for its place of meeting a private house, outside the twelfth arrondissement; by withdrawing the cards of invitation already issued; by limiting the number of guests, and by doubling the price of the tickets; a deputy was even found ready to propose the king's health. They hoped in this manner to elude the threats of the Government, and to replace the popular by an aristocratic element. It has even been ascertained beyond a doubt, that at one moment the ministry and the opposition agreed to get up a little comedy, which was to save the honour of both parties, and give a seeming satisfaction to public opinion. A commissary of police, a *procès-verbal,* a protest of M. Barrot, a court of justice, and a bench of lawyers,—such was the programme, which, however, was soon modified by the force of events.

The banquet, originally fixed for Sunday, the 20th of February, had been postponed to Tuesday, the 22nd, by fresh hesitation on the part of the deputies. Negotiations were a second time set on foot, to obtain the retirement of the Guizot ministry, on condition of renouncing the projected manifestation. But the Government, as the day of strife approached, recovered all its audacity. It fancied itself secure of effecting energetic repression, and the journals in the pay of the Court redoubled their attacks upon liberty in every shape, at the same time that the faithful servants of the king rallied round his person—as, for instance, MM. Bugeaud, Molé, de Broglie, and Montalivet. The Duke of Nemours sought to conciliate the officers of the army; the Minister of the Interior stimulated the public functionaries and their agents; everything was prepared for violence.

Paris and the departments contemplated these preparations, and this crisis, which was perhaps to decide the fate of the monarchy. Most of the provincial towns organized banquets for the same day, the 22nd of February, and

appointed delegates to represent them at the banquet in Paris. The responsibility of all the preparations fell entirely upon the dynastic opposition. The sort of dignity and courage it displayed will be shortly seen.

On Monday, the 21st, the independent journals published a manifesto of the committee of the banquet, explaining the object of that great pacific protest, and regulating the order of the ceremonies. Ninety-three deputies, three peers of France, a great number of magistrates, officers of the National Guard, members of the Conseil-Général, the central commission of electors of the opposition, a great number of journalists, delegates from the departments, and from the schools of law and medicine, had sent in their adhesion, and were to take their place in the *cortège*, which was to start at eleven o'clock from the Place de la Madeleine.

In the sitting of the Chamber, M. O. Barrot timidly interrogated the ministry respecting its intentions; he reduced the question of right to a simple question of administration and police; he disavowed the manifesto of the morning; and M. Duchatel, encouraged by this

cowardice of the opposition, declared in a tone of insolence that the banquet should not be held, and that steps would be taken to prevent a breach of the public peace. It was evident to all that the opposition had encountered a signal defeat.

In the evening the walls of Paris were covered with official placards: "Order of the day of General Jacqueminot to the National Guard, commanding it to abstain from participating in the manifestation." "Ordonnance of 1831 against public assemblages." "Proclamation of the Prefect of Police," accompanied by a decree, formally prohibiting the meeting and the banquet.

These placards of a detested authority caused the liveliest excitement. Crowds assembled at the corner of every street to read the decree forbidding public meetings; and by the glare of torches men and boys were vociferating at the top of their voices the principal articles of these new ordonnances of July. Public opinion was indignant at this insensate provocation, and thousands of citizens encouraged each other in resistance.

The dynastic opposition had meantime accom-

plished its shameful treachery. After having invoked all the strength of the country to this patriotic struggle, it cowered before the menaces of the ministry and of the police—before the inflexible determination of the Court. At ten o'clock at night a new manifesto was drawn up in the house of the arch-agitator Odilon Barrot, which will be recorded in history as the last act of ignominy of that incapable and cowardly dynastic faction, which royalty always made use of as an engine fatal to France.

In this document, published the following morning by the journals, it was stated, that the Government having declared its resolution to prevent by force all assemblages or public demonstrations, the opposition renounced the proposed banquet, not to expose the citizens to the consequences of a struggle so detrimental to order and to liberty; and that by waiving the exercise of the right of publicly meeting, the dynastic deputies performed a great act of moderation and humanity. The position of affairs was thus greatly simplified by this defeat of the opposition. It was the people alone that now remained in open opposition to the monarchy.

THE REVOLT OF PARIS.

WHILST the monarchy was thus endeavouring to intimidate its adversaries, all the revolutionary elements were fermenting in Paris.

In the very ranks of the perplexed opposition, some deputies formally adhered to the protest. At a meeting held during the night at M. de Lamartine's, fourteen deputies and peers of France, out of the sixty persons who were present, declared their intention of attending the banquet, in despite of opposition, and of retiring only before bayonets. Whether they were present on the following day on the field of battle it matters not to inquire; the committee of the banquet, M. Barrot and the other original members having abstained from appearing, there was no rallying point to proceed to. Everything was left to chance, right and the future having been abandoned to the caprice of fate.

The popular party, however, and a fraction of the middle classes (the *classe moyenne*)

roused to indignation at the corruption of the men in power, were disposed to pick up the gauntlet which the dynastic opposition had declined. The secret societies and the faubourgs, the (then) true republican journals, the *Réforme* and the *National*, the schools, and groups of patriots in the different arrondissements, were deliberating how they should act on the morrow, to respond to the provocation offered by the ministry.

The secret societies had never ceased to exist, in spite of the check they received on the 12th May, 1838. This free-masonry of devoted men had maintained itself almost unchanged until 1846. Their "*ordres du jour*" published at Brussels, and often secretly in Paris, sustained their zeal. But the frequency of these proclamations, which sooner or later fell into the hands of the police, made it dangerous to issue them. The relation consequently between the leaders and the other members became limited, when in 1846 a reorganization of the societies took place, and preparatory steps were taken.

Paris was the centre from which the different

branches radiated into the provincial towns. These military bodies were all animated by the same sentiment, and were more bent on revolutionary action than on social theories; muskets were oftener spoken of than communism, and the sole formula unanimously accepted was the declaration of the rights of man of Robespierre.

The real strength of the secret societies lay in the working classes, who possessed a certain disciplined force, always ready for action at a moment's notice. They never failed in a single political movement, and they were to be found the foremost on the barricades of February.

In the evening of the 21st they resolved to proceed on the morrow to the place of meeting, without arms, in small detachments, and to take advantage of circumstances, and, if possible, to make a day of it against royalty.

The meeting which had the most influence on the turn of events was that convoked on the Monday evening in the bureaux of the *Réforme*. At this meeting a hundred citizens of tried courage and unflinching character, loudly discussed the chances of a revolution. There were present Flocon, Baune, Etienne Arago

and the whole editorial staff of the journal; Caussidière, and other representatives of the secret societies; Louis Blanc, Thoré, and other journalists of the same opinions; Delecluze, of the *Impartial du Nord;* Pont, of the *Haro de Caen,* and other provincial journalists; Lagrange, Rey, Albert, and a host of brave conspirators and men well known in the different *quartiers* of Paris.

At about 10 o'clock, d'Alton Shee and Ledru Rollin arrived from the meeting held at Lamartine's, and made known what had been decided upon there.

The sitting was most animated. Some contented themselves with an energetic protest against the king's ministers. Others urged that immediate preparations should be made to oppose force by force. The latter maintained that an insurrection was unavoidable, that one hundred thousand men well affected to the cause would present themselves in the morning in the public streets, and that such a splendid opportunity was not to be thrown away. The former feared a defeat, which the Government would doubtless take advantage of, to crush by

new and oppressive laws all possibility of meetings being held in future, all liberty of the press and propagandism, and the little that still remained of political rights and means of emancipation.

It was, however, finally resolved that each man should betake himself separately, and *with his hands in his pockets*, to the Place de la Madeleine, to watch the course of events, and to gain over public opinion against royalty. In case of an outbreak, each member was to repair immediately to the office of the *Réforme*, to organize the movement with vigour, and to give it a republican character.

The offices of the *National* were thronged during the whole of the evening by processions of citizens, who came to demand leaders and a *mot d'ordre*. But the *National*, in that wavering spirit which has always characterized it, hesitated to renounce a portion of the left and of the opposition, for whose acts it had almost, especially of late, rendered itself responsible by its cautious and timid policy. Sincerely desiring a certain nominal republic,—a deceitful semblance of a reality—which we to-day see

exemplified under its editors, it shrank back from all revolutionary demonstrations. It regarded the state of public feeling as sufficient of itself to overthrow the Guizot ministry, and to give a lesson to the Court; but the *National* entertained neither the hope nor the wish to goad Paris to open revolt, to the overthrow of the throne, and the restoration of democracy. In 1830, the revolution occurred in precisely the same way; soaring above—or perhaps better —diving below the leaders of Liberalism; assuredly without them, and almost in despite of them. Around the *National*, however, the republican bourgeoisie, the officers of the National Guard, the representation of industry and commerce, wounded to the quick by a pernicious regime, and irritated against the insolence of the Court, shared the feeling of the people, and until past midnight, dense crowds thronged the boulevards and the adjoining streets. The air was impregnated with revolutionary matter. An electric spark of enthusiasm seemed to glow in the breasts of all. Orators in blouses, mounted on steps, and cast flashes of light upon the moving and stormy mass beneath them; there

was every indication that a tempest was brewing for the morrow.

And in fact, on the morrow, Tuesday, from ten in the morning, immense bodies of citizens kept streaming into the Place de la Madeleine from the streets that lead to it, filling the square part of the Boulevards and the adjacent streets. Before noon more than fifty thousand persons, men, women, and children, thronged the streets, as far as the Place de la Concorde, shouting without intermission, "*Vive la réforme!*" "*A bas Guizot!*" They expected every moment the arrival of some of the leading reformers and originators of the banquet. Until the last moment the people had hoped that the deputies of the opposition would have had the honesty to bring their inviolable attachment to the cause of reform into the midst of the masses aroused by their fine speeches. Great astonishment was also evinced that the Government had not taken the military precautions which had been announced the day before. No attempt had been made to prevent the people from proceeding to the Place de la Madeleine, and not a single uniform was to be seen. In accordance

with the perfidious custom of despotic governments, the ministry encouraged the movement, relying on its strength to put it down when it thought fit, and thus to exhibit some plausible reason for reactionary measures.

As no one arrived—neither deputies nor the committee of the twelfth arrondissement—the crowd became impatient, and not even aware of the precise locality fixed upon for the banquet, began to move towards the Place de la Concorde. A body of the people, headed by students and workmen, led the way, singing the Marseillaise, with the purpose of filing off in front of the Chamber of Deputies. The entrance to the bridge was occupied by a division of Municipal Guards on foot, about fifty strong, which drew back to allow a free passage, and the people were soon at the steps of the Palais Bourbon.

The iron grating was closed. Some hundred illustrious *gamins* scaled them, and penetrated inside. Finding the Chamber empty, they immediately withdrew, without interference from the officials on duty.

But the ministerial tactics had succeeded.

The people had been drawn into the snare, and were surrounded. The military gradually made its appearance on every side. Dragoons and Municipal Guards on horseback drove back the people to the other side of the bridge; a regiment of Chasseurs was drawn up in front of the Chamber, and a regiment of the line closed the entrance to all the adjoining streets, as far as the Hôtel des Invalides. Strong reserves were posted along the quays, with mounted artillery. At the same moment, charges of cavalry began to sweep the Place de la Concorde, and the Rues de la Madeleine and St. Honoré; Municipal Guards galloped under the arcades of the Rue de Rivoli and the Rue de la Paix; inoffensive pedestrians, women and National Guards, received sabre-cuts. In the Rue de la Paix a superior officer of the Municipal Guard, who had urged his horse almost into a doorway, cutting with his sabre at the crowd, was seized and disarmed, but was finally rescued by some guards on foot, who drove back the people with blows from the butt ends of their muskets, and at the point of the bayonet.

The deputies advanced in deep silence through the midst of these deplorable scenes, to attend the sitting in the Chamber. Some of them were recognized, stopped, and eagerly questioned. They replied that they purposed impeaching the ministry. An impeachment before that corrupt majority which had denounced them by the opprobrious titles of *aveugles* and *ennemies!*

In the Champs Elysées the collision between the troops and the people continued for some hours. Some victims fell, trampled under the feet of the horses, cut down by the sabre, or pierced by the bayonet. Stones were hurled at the soldiery; the lamps were smashed; a detached guard-house was burnt; chairs, boards, and branches of trees were made available, to form barricades. At the corner of the Ministry of the Marine, the iron palisades were wrenched out, and a barricade was commenced in the Rue St. Florentin.

The military had already so well performed its duty, that an *ambulance* was organized in the Rue St. Honoré to receive the wounded. Two women were reported dead, and a number were grievously wounded.

As yet the population, generally speaking, had preserved a calm and reserved demeanour; but disquietude spread gradually through Paris—the insurrection spread apace. Near the Ecole Polytechnique the people were attacked by the Municipal Guards. At four o'clock the shop of Lepage, the gunsmith, was broken into, and similar acts occurred simultaneously in other *quartiers*; the proletaries began to erect barricades, and to shoulder their muskets; at five o'clock the drum might be heard beating through the streets of Paris, but the National Guard scarcely responded to the call. The main arteries of the city were scoured by patrols of Municipal Guards, and cavalry in every direction maltreated the groups assembled in the footpaths, but passed the barricades without notice. It seemed as if royalty, more blind, in its turn, than the royalist opposition, desired to drive disorder to the extreme limits of a serious peril. Could it suppose that this crisis which it had provoked was to become a revolution?

There was, however, that evening, between the Rues St. Denis and St. Martin, the com-

mencement of a sanguinary struggle. A sharp firing was kept up in the Rues Transnonain and Bourg l'Abbé, barricaded by paving stones and carts; but the people were badly provided with ammunition, and the barricades were carried by storm before midnight.

The aspect of Paris on the day following was far more threatening. The audacity of the ministry and the obstinacy of the Court excited the greatest astonishment. The hatred expressed against MM. Guizot and Duchâtel reminded one forcibly of the execrations uttered in 1830 against Polignac and Peyronnet. All classes of the nation felt the necessity of uniting to break down the agents or tools of the personal government; and the republicans, who had a higher aim in view, thus acquired for a time the aid of the National Guard, the bourgeoisie, the electors, and that constitutional country, on which the monarchy had placed its reliance.

Preparations for resistance were therefore continued, chiefly in the popular quarters, with the firm resolution of not succumbing to the king. The drums never ceased beating the

rappel. The National Guard assembled at the *mairies* and on the public squares, but only to shout "*Vive la réforme!*" Whole companies of them paraded the streets, crossed the barricades and fraternized with the people. The Third Legion marched through the whole of the Rue Montmartre and the Boulevards, singing the Marseillaise; the people mingled in its ranks, bearing flags and all sorts of heterogeneous weapons. The most active patriots visited every quarter of Paris, and kept alive the agitation. It now became a question of going to the Tuileries.

Partial collisions took place in the vicinity of the Rue St. Martin, of the Hôtel de Ville, and of the Bastille; and a general struggle was seen to be inevitable at night, when the report was spread that the ministry had been overthrown.

M. Guizot had, in fact, himself tendered his resignation from the tribune of the Chamber of deputies. The personal government had fallen.

A general feeling of unbounded joy pervaded Paris at the news of the dismissal of M.

Guizot, and the dynastic opposition doubtless congratulated itself upon obtaining its ends, without having compromised itself in the eyes of the Château. Its obedience and its retreat in the hour of danger would surely not be overlooked.

M. Barrot and his friends had thus become *possibles* by a throw of chance, and France was to be made over to their government,—the government of M. Thiers, their leader, the former colleague of M. Guizot, and the old and faithful servant of Louis Philippe.

The republicans alone were not satisfied with the poor and insufficient result of this generous and patriotic agitation. Far from accepting the simple retirement of a corrupt ministry replaced by servile royalists, the republicans did not cease their conflict with the monarchy; they retained their weapons and their hopes.

But, alas! Paris, intoxicated with this triumph over an abhorred ministry, forgot its other grievances against the Court and its institutions. The National Guard fixed bouquets of flowers instead of bayonets in their muskets;

the population thronged the illuminated streets as if to celebrate some festival, and Louis Philippe doubtless consoled himself with the thought that, after all, he had only changed his confederates.

Suddenly a thrill of horror ran through this joyous city at the sound of a sharp fire of musketry. It was the massacre of the Boulevard des Capucines. Men, women, and children assassinated by the military for no cause whatever, without provocation,—the ground covered with the dead and dying! The wounded were carried to the surgeons and nearest houses; the slain were placed in two open carts and dragged by the people to the faubourgs, amidst cries and lamentations. This blood quenched at once the flaming symbols of rejoicing. Illuminated Paris became mournful and silent,—chance had revived the drooping revolution.

THE 24TH OF FEBRUARY.

ALL that evening, and the night between the 23rd and the 24th of February, bore a suspicious aspect. The work of the insurrection was carried on with extraordinary activity, in silence, and without any military force attempting to oppose it. Paris had become one mass of barricades from the Boulevard de Gand to the Bastille, from the Porte St. Denis to the Seine. The insurgents were in the streets with the implements of labour in their hands, which were to be laid aside for the musket on the morning; the beautiful trees along the boulevards were, alas! sawed down; the railings round the public monuments were pulled up; the lamp-posts, fountains, sheds,—anything of a nature to obstruct the advance of the troops—were seized upon, and devoted to that purpose. The scaffolding and masonry of houses in course of construction or under repair, were cast into the middle of the road; rafters, blocks of stone, wheelbarrows, were all jammed between for-

midable walls of paving-stones. The blows of the axe and the falling of trees as their branches crashed in their fall, interrupted the silence of the night. At intervals were heard the clanking of cold steel on the pavement, the rattling sound of arms, the solitary report of a musket in the dark night, and the monotonous sound of the tocsin on the night breeze. The barricades were soon occupied and guarded by sentinels, and, around glowing braziers of charcoal, groups of men might be observed kneeling, casting bullets, tranquilly smoking their pipes, at this extraordinary bivouac in the centre of the great city, furrowed, as it were, to receive the seed of liberty.

Republicans, workmen, members of secret societies, all men of generous hearts and sympathies, were courageously active during that memorable night. Some went from barricade to barricade already proclaiming the fall of the king; others collected arms and ammunition. Everywhere an indomitable determination was visible, with the almost certain hope, that at last the hour of triumph had arrived for that republic, until whose advent the people had suffered so much.

As the dawn broke, Paris arose in open insurrection, and the timid or the neutral who had passed an anxious night in their beds, must have been surprised at the more than human power of that laborious people, who, in a few hours, had thus transformed an elegant and well-arranged city into a field of battle, with trenches, battlements, and fortifications.

The whole centre of Paris was in revolt, over a space of ground of at least a league square, between the Rue Montmartre, the Rue St. Antoine, the Quays and the Boulevards. The passage of the Porte St. Denis was stopped by a huge barricade, and the principal entrances to the camp of the insurgents were defended in a similar manner by insurmountable barricades. In the small streets of the centre, such as the Rues Beaubourg, Transnonain, des Gravilliers, and others, barricades were erected at every ten yards, and the combatants hovered about them with enthusiasm. In this labyrinth of small citadels all communicated with each other, and with the neighbouring houses.

To behold the exultation of the people who had thus assured the inviolability of their own

firesides,—to listen to the cries of "*Vive la République!*" shouted by men, women, and children! It was quite evident that the revolution was on the eve of accomplishment, and that at worst it was now merely a question of time.

The Court was not idle during that glorious night. A Molé ministry had been announced the evening before, to replace that of Guizot; but since the massacre on the Boulevard des Capucines, since the revolt had taken so determined and general an aspect, new concessions appeared inevitable.

Nearly the whole of the night was passed by the king in secret council with his ministers and intimate advisers. Marshal Bugeaud, whom it was proposed to make military dictator, encouraged Louis Philippe not to give way, and on his demand that he should be entrusted with unlimited powers over Paris and the insurrection,—"not yet," replied the king. The Marshal of the Rue Transnonain, proposed, doubtless, to erect bastilles for the occasion, and the king, without being averse to this proposition, which he kept in reserve, did not however think

that the moment had yet arrived for him to burn—his ships.

In the course of the evening, M. Thiers had been sent for, as also some of the editors of the dynastic journals. The king recoiled from the idea of a ministry selected from the opposition, and from electoral reform, even of the most modified kind. And yet all that was asked was the addition of some civil privileges to the electoral body, and the incompatibility of certain monarchical functions with the post of deputy, was hinted at. M. Thiers, moreover, who had served the king so well on former occasions—M. Barrot, who had just tendered so striking a proof of respect for the royal will, how could they inspire fear to the Court?

At 3 o'clock in the morning, old Louis Philippe, worn out by fatigue, consented to a ministry consisting of Thiers, Odilon Barrot, and Bugeaud. It was resolved that innumerable placards should be immediately posted up on the walls of Paris, that the mighty influence of the names of these three great citizens might SAVE the monarchy, by at once appeasing the popular tempest.

Shortly after, another councillor of the king, M. de Girardin, entered the château of the Tuileries, to inform his august friend that royalty was at stake, nay, that the dynasty was lost, unless an abdication and a regency were proclaimed.

Thus, in this singular and imminent crisis, all these men of the *ancien régime*, reputed so skilful; all these professors of *rouerie politique*, had no idea of the real state of affairs. It would be difficult to say who was most blind, M. Barrot, or his friends, M. Guizot or M. Duchâtel, M. Thiers or the king. Real skill, tact, and foresight—the genius of the statesman—are inseparable from good faith and a principle of justice. It has been said, that at each crisis of the drama, the king always advanced precisely too late. He did not expect the people so soon.

It was curious to observe the reception MM. Thiers, Bugeaud, and Barrot met with on the morrow. To M. Bugeaud the people replied "*Transnonain;*" to M. Thiers, "Bastille, and the laws of September;" to M. Barrot it replied, "desertion."

The consequence was, that M. Bugeaud was

almost immediately replaced by another faithful general, M. de Lamoricière, upon whom the favour of the king had but recently conferred the title of grand-officer of the Legion of Honour.

For a full hour longer, the opposition was still blind enough to fancy itself as lucky as it presumed itself to be skilful, imagining that this great commotion having produced a ministry so long and so vainly attempted, all was now over.

Mayors, police officers, and some National Guards, for the second time with bouquets in the muzzles of their guns, made the tour of some of the *quartiers*, proclaiming the good news. But the population was mute; a portion of the National Guards found themselves once more deceived, and the insurgents shouted, "*A bas Louis Philippe! Vive la République!*"

M. Barrot who hid himself on the day of the banquet, flattered himself that the leader of the opposition would be sunk in the minister. He mounted on horseback, accompanied by his colleague, M. de Lamoricière, some royalist deputies like themselves, and a staff of officers. The cortège advanced triumphantly along the fashionable Boulevards, but as they approached

the Boulevard Montmartre—a barricade at the entrance of each street,—they were greeted with murmurs anything but reassuring. On arriving at the barricade of the Porte St. Denis, they were stopped short by the insurgents, who presenting a file of bayonets, shouted "*Vive la République!*"

The illusion of the dynastics was not therefore of long duration. The Republic was decidedly in number and in strength in the insurrection.

Whilst the royalists withdrew in consternation; whilst regiments of the line stationed along the Boulevards, fraternized with the people, whilst the insurgents awaited the attack behind their barricades, large bodies of armed workmen, and boys carrying flags of their own device, mingled with the columns of the National Guard, which were still hesitating between a neutral position and open revolt. Since the morning, one exclusive idea occupied the minds of the people; it was to march on the Tuileries, as in 1830. The instinct of the people is always true, and goes straight to the goal. Its irritation, shared by a certain number of National Guards

and officers, gained over whole companies, and this revolutionary tide rolled onwards from all sides, towards the centre of tyranny.

Dense masses advanced in this manner tumultuously towards the Tuileries, from the Faubourg du Temple, from the Faubourg St. Antoine, from the Faubourg St. Marceau, from nearly every quarter of Paris; and this motley army advanced its ranks, augmented by thousands of combatants, armed with sabres and axes, pistols and clubs. Many who were unarmed joined the ranks, shouting "*Vive la réforme!*" a cry drowned by the louder shout of "*Vive la République!*"

And as they advanced, posts were carried by storm, troops fraternized with them, and now and then a volley was given and received, but with little loss of life. No serious engagement took place till they reached the Château d'Eau.

At about half-past 12 the various streams of people arriving by the Rue de Valois or the Rue Richelieu found the court-yards of the Palais Royal and the Château d'Eau, occupied by the military. The court-yard of the Palais Royal was soon entered, but upon the guards

on duty at the Château d'Eau refusing to give up their arms, a terrible conflict ensued. The citizens intrenched themselves behind the colonnades of the Cour d'Honneur, and the barricade of the Rue de Valois kept up this heroic struggle for more than an hour. The royal carriages having been dragged into the middle of the court-yard were set fire to, and in the midst of this conflagration, which spread gradually to the Château d'Eau, the people and the National Guards, chiefly of the third and fifth legions, carried by storm the post so bravely attacked and so bravely defended.

A portion of the crowd burst into the apartments of the royal palace of the Orleans, and threw everything they could lay their hands on out of the windows upon the still smouldering fire below. Others rushed at once towards the Tuileries.

That palace had meantime been taken by storm, almost without resistance; although drawn up within the grille there were a body of 3000 infantry, six pieces of artillery, and many squadrons of Dragoons, and Municipal Guards on horseback. But legions of the

National Guard and the people arrived from every side and surrounded the Place du Carrousel and the Rue de Rivoli. After exchanging a few shots, the military withdrew with their staff through the Pavillon de l'Horloge, leading into the gardens.

It was now nearly half-past 1. At 11 the king, in his slippers, was receiving his intimate friends and advisers, so little did he suspect the real state of Paris, and the triumph of the revolution.

The king, the queen, the princes, and princesses, made their escape by the terrace which runs parallel with the river. Out at the small iron gateway of the Pont-tournant which had served Darmès to lean against, Louis Philippe and his wife entered a *voiture de place* which took the road to Neuilly. No one thought of pursuing them.

The Duchess of Orleans and her young son, accompanied by M. de Nemours and deputies and officers, proceeded to the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, where three or four royalists stammered forth a regency. But the people were advancing fast, and every one

endeavoured to secure the retreat by a secret passage, of the woman and the child, who remained concealed at the Invalides till the evening.

The second pretender to the regency, Monseigneur le Duc de Nemours, grand constable of all the armies of the kingdom of France, of Navarre, and of Algeria, made his escape in another direction, after having exchanged his general's uniform for the simple dress of a republican National Guard.

Thus royalty, regency, the whole of the *ancien régime* had vanished; the people were masters of Paris, and France had to decide for the future.

At the Chamber of Deputies, in the midst of the most fearful tumult, the extreme left proposed successively the more popular names of its members, to organize a provisional commission to provide for the exigencies of the moment. Some of these names were applauded by the crowd that filled every part of the building.

At the same time a list of names to conciliate the people was being drawn up at the *National.*

At the *Réforme*, where the principal leaders of the insurrection had rallied after the victory, a Provisional Government was also nominated, and it was the *Réforme* that had the honour of proposing a workman.

These three groups soon met at the Hôtel de Ville. The square was one dense mass of human beings, who filled the vast halls of the temple consecrated by all our revolutions.

And on the Place de Grève, on the bloody barricades, in the uptorn streets, from the windows of the houses, there was one exulting shout of victory:—

"VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE!"

MEMOIRS

OF

CITIZEN CAUSSIDIÈRE.

PART I.

THE PREFECTURE FROM THE 24TH FEBRUARY TO THE 15TH APRIL.

CHAPTER I.

My impressions on entering the Tuileries — Souvenirs of 1834—Oblivion of old enmities—The people appoint a Provisional Government—I am made Prefect of Police—Departure from the office of the *Réforme*—My picturesque costume—State of Paris—Entrance into the Préfecture of Police—Sobrier and Cahaigne—My connexions with my predecessor—M. Delessert and Saint Napoleon—Suit of Ledru Rollin before the Court of Cassation—The chest at the Préfecture—The apartments of M. Delessert—Precautionary measures—Visit to the vaults—The fire-brigade—Revolutionary proclamations—Character of the Republican police—Organization of the different branches of the public service—The provisions of Paris—Bread, wood, and lights—Sobrier falls sick, and leaves the Prefecture—The leaders of the barricades—Re-establishment of circulation—Washing of the streets—Night adventures—The Prefect of Police a prisoner—Crowds of informers—Robbery of arms and plate by a fencing-master—The red-belts—Republican capacities—All men are brothers—The tricolor flag—The horses of the Municipal Guard—Address to the Paris Commissaries of Police.

LIKE many others, I arrived at the Palais Royal with a musket in my hand, and after the

Chateau d'Eau had been carried by assault, I entered the Tuileries, astounded at the feeble resistance that had been made by the defenders of royalty. Like others, I stopped before the steps of the throne, and my thoughts wandered to my poor brother, murdered at Lyons in 1834. It was on the steps of the altar of Christ that he fell, struck by three balls, with sixty-four bayonet wounds in his body; and his corpse, relinquished as a prey to a maddened soldiery, was soon little more than a tissue of bloody shreds.

I also thought of you, my poor and worthy father, known for your proverbial probity, and whose whole life had been one unbroken chain of devotion to the holy cause of the people. You were condemned to die by inches, without beholding the sunrise of political religion. At this moment, I feel inclined to say, it was perhaps as well; for you died with your illusions still entire and undisturbed.

The aspect of the people who had just expelled their ruler, threw me into serious meditations. I saw the utter vanity of the pride of man. The Tuileries became the grave

of my animosity. I forgot the long and feverish nights I had passed in prison, to think only of the new duties imposed on all citizens, the friends of order and democratic institutions.

On leaving the Tuileries, I proceeded to the offices of the *Réforme* newspaper, where a great number of insurgents were appointing a government. When those citizens who had been nominated for the provisional power installed themselves at the Hôtel de Ville, there were still two important offices which demanded immediate attention, the direction of the Post Office, which was at once entrusted to Etienne Arago, and the Préfecture of Police. I proposed Baune for the Police department; he declined. Several other citizens likewise refused. All who were put in nomination declined so difficult a post. Flocon and Baune then proposed me, in conjunction with Sobrier. At first I would not accept the offer; but the entreaties of the people, and the knowledge that I should have Sobrier for a colleague, induced me at last to accept it. I did so against my will, but with the firm resolve to devote the

utmost care, and all the energy necessary for the fulfilment of the duties of so important a post. I, however, inwardly resolved to resign my revolutionary functions as soon as there should be a well-organized power at the head of the affairs of the country.

It has always been my real and sincere intention to keep aloof from all the trammels of place. For seventeen years I had been one of the foremost in the breach, without any ulterior views of personal advantage. I may honestly say, that I made every possible sacrifice to my cause. The realization and adoption of my political principles were in my eyes the noblest recompense.

I proceeded to the Préfecture, accompanied by Sobrier and Cahaigne, without any accession of self-esteem, but also without any mistrust of myself.

I gave my musket and my pistols to Sobrier and Cahaigne, who had already laid aside their arms, and only retained my sabre, which was fastened round my body by a red sash. It was the sword of honour of my father. I had a cap on my head, a coat all bespattered with

mud, a pair of black trowsers, and a pair of boots worn into holes from four and twenty hours' incessant scrambling over barricades. I had about a hundred francs in my pocket.

As I walked along, I had plenty of opportunities of remarking how necessary it was to take vigorous measures to place Paris in decent order. All the streets were cut up by barricades; and yet the town was far from having a mournful appearance. Every man was walking about as if it had been a holiday. Cares for the future had not yet clouded their faces. The present was everything, and the citizens willingly undertook the expense of lighting the city, each man lighting his own house.

As I entered the principal court of the Préfecture with my two comrades, all was disorder and confusion. The ground was strewed with helmets, horses' saddles, and military accoutrements. About 2,700 men, Municipal Guards and troops of the line, had just evacuated the Préfecture. A company of the 11th Legion alone appeared in anything like military order. It was the officers of this company, seconded by Adjutant Caron and M. Carteret, who, to

avoid a conflict, had induced the Municipal Guards and the line to withdraw. A great number of citizens, more or less armed, and still intoxicated by a success obtained without the effusion of blood, were walking up and down the courts shouting "*Vive la Liberté!*" "*Vive la République!*" and singing the Marseillaise hymn. The *coup-d'œil* was extremely picturesque; it had all the effect of the wildest dream!

I requested the captain of the National Guard to call his men together; and in a short address I announced my provisional nomination to the Préfecture, and exhorted all the citizens present to lend me their assistance towards the re-establishment of order, and the providing against the most urgent demands of the moment. They promised with enthusiasm that they would do so, and kept their promise with zeal and intelligence.

I then ascended, still accompanied by Sobrier and Cahaigne, to the apartments of the Secretary-General, where I found only two *employés* and two bailiffs, who had remained at their posts.

I remembered how often I had been ordered to appear in that very room, when under a rigorous *surveillance* as *condamné politique*; for the jealous watchfulness of the Secretary-General and of the Prefect himself was continually excited by the reports of the secret police.

On one occasion in particular, when I was summoned before my predecessor to defend myself against certain false or exaggerated imputations, he gave me some well-intentioned advice, the friendly tone of which I attributed to the high esteem he professed to entertain for my uncle Spréafico. It was through the exertions of M. Spréafico, assisted by his friend M. Lingay, that I obtained permission to reside at Paris after I was let out of the prison of Doullens. At a later period M. Pinel ordered me to leave Paris within twenty-four hours, on the ground that I was always dabbling in politics, and that they knew me to be in connection with some conspirators, whose proceedings they were watching narrowly. M. Delessert granted me a respite of eight days, to put my affairs in order.

At that time I really was no conspirator, for

the whole of my time and attention was directed towards the fabrication of a waterproof cloth, the result of which experiment, after sinking the greater portion of my capital, was a loss of 60,000 francs, in debts and otherwise, which placed me in a position very similar to that of Job upon his dunghill.

On this occasion, M. Lingay again interceded with M. Delessert, to obtain the revocation of this decree of banishment, and he gave me a written report of what passed between them. It was asserted that, at a Republican banquet, I had made use of language that compromised me, and that under *Saint Napoléon*, I should have been locked up in the Bastille for the rest of my days.

"And moreover," M. Delessert was stated to have said, pointing to a report, of which the ink was scarcely dry, "at this very moment, while you are here soliciting permission for M. Caussidière to remain in Paris, he is, with other Republicans, at the Royal Court of Cassation, attending the trial of M. Ledru Rollin."

I had, however, no difficulty in proving that I had only fulfilled a duty of gratitude and

affection towards the man who had formerly defended me before the Court of Peers, and who had only recently made himself answerable for me to the amount of 25,000 francs. There was nothing to justify the steps taken against me, and I was allowed to remain in Paris.

It was with such reflections that I took possession of an hotel, from which, but a few hours previously, a warrant of arrest had been issued against me.

I placed my sword upon a desk, Sobrier did the same with his pistols, and we set to work at once.

The heads of the municipal police and the other superior employés being absent, M. Coré, the cashier of the Préfecture, alone presented himself, and informed me that there were about 200,000 francs in the chest, which he placed at my disposal, for the necessities of the service. I replied that at present no money was required, but that he was not to dispose of any funds, without a written order from me to that effect.

The warder came in his turn, and he was ordered to lock up all the rooms of the second

story, which had been occupied by my predecessor, who, so precipitate was his flight, had taken nothing away with him.

I did not take possession of the second floor until a week had elapsed, and then only after the servants of M. Delessert had removed every article that belonged to him.

M. Delessert expressed his thanks to me shortly afterwards, in the following letter:—

London, 29th April, 1848.

"Monsieur le Préfet,

"I have just been informed by my Paris friends of the kind manner in which you expressed yourself respecting the very short sojourn which Madame Delessert made at Passy, and the regret you evinced that she had not at once addressed herself to you. Allow me to express my thanks to you.

"I do so with the greater *empressement*, that it gives me the opportunity of telling you how grateful I feel for all your proceedings in our case; in allowing, so handsomely, all our property, horses, and other articles, the private property of myself and wife, to be removed

rom the Préfecture of Police. I am happy, Monsieur le Préfet, to express to you my very sincere and cordial gratitude.

"I have the honour to beg of you to receive the sentiments of my high consideration.

"GABRIEL DELESSERT."

The captain of the 4th Legion, above mentioned, and the Adjutant Caron commenced the organization of a military force, which was joined by some friends, and a considerable number of insurgents, more or less regularly equipped. Sentinels were stationed, patrols paraded the streets; and having explored the subterraneous passages and sewers which branch out from the Préfecture, I was satisfied that no invisible danger threatened us.

The director of the express courier department was sent for, and ordered to obey my instructions. His brigade consisted of eighteen men, but I increased it to twenty-four, in consequence of the urgency of the moment.

The service of the fire-brigade was not interfered with. A conflagration at the Palais Royal was prevented from having a serious termination,

through the intelligence and devoted zeal of this select corps.

The whole time until the following morning was passed in taking these necessary preliminary steps. Sobrier shared all my labours, and conjointly with him I issued the following proclamation:

"In the name of the Sovereign People!

"Citizens:

"A Provisional Government has been established. It consists, by the will of the people, of Citizens F. Arago, Louis Blanc, Marie, Lamartine, Flocon, Ledru Rollin, Recurt, Marrast, and Albert (*ouvrier mécanicien*).

"To see the decrees of this Government carried into effect, the will of the people has also selected for the department of Police, Citizens Caussidière and Sobrier.

"The same sovereign will of the people has nominated Citizen Etienne Arago, Postmaster-General.

"As the first act of obedience to the orders of the Provisional Government, it is ordered that all bakers and vendors of provisions do

keep their shops open for all those who stand in need of them.

"The people are earnestly requested not to lay down their arms, or abandon their positions or their revolutionary attitude. They have been too often deceived by treachery: it is necessary to provide against all terrible and criminal attempts.

"To satisfy the general wish of the sovereign people, the Provisional Government decided upon, and has effected, with the aid of the National Guard, the liberation of all our brothers in prison for political offences; but at the same time, with the like meritorious assistance of the National Guard, all persons convicted of crimes against persons or property have been detained in confinement.

"The families of the citizens who have fallen or have been wounded in the defence of the rights of the sovereign people, are requested to notify to the Préfecture without delay, the names of the victims of devotion to the public cause, that their most pressing wants may be provided for.

"The Delegates of the Department of Police,

"CAUSSIDIERE and SOBRIER."

On the next morning nearly all the *chefs de division* and *chefs de bureau* were at their post. Some of them requested an interview, which was immediately granted. I urged these gentlemen to be doubly zealous in their duties, as the government of the people stood in need of the devotion and of the activity of all its agents.

"If one of you," I added, "should be guilty of treason, I shall have him instantly shot in the yard of the Préfecture."

This is the only revolutionary threat I made use of during the three months I was in office, and I should not have hesitated to carry it into execution, had the case required it. Might I not reasonably consider myself as surrounded by enemies or evil-disposed persons, when they accepted against their will the new master set over them by the popular will?

On the other hand, I endeavoured at once to gain the esteem, if not the sympathy, of the different employés of the Préfecture, by always treating them with consideration and affability, whatever their position. I recommended an observance of the same line of conduct in all the bureaux, as a practice worthy of a Repub-

lican government, towards all persons who came on business to the Préfecture. It was for the Republic, misunderstood and calumniated, to show itself great, powerful, and magnanimous. It was its duty especially to raise the confidence of the poorer citizens who stand most in need of its protection and goodwill.

It was with these fraternal feelings that the bureaux of the Préfecture were opened on the 25th February, with the exception of the passport department, respecting which I still awaited the orders of the government.

I had a report made of the stores of corn and flour. Though it proved satisfactory, I sent some friends to Etampes and Blois, to make purchases; this enabled me to reduce the price of bread on the 2nd of March following. This step triumphantly succeeded in dispelling the panic which had been got up by the alarmists.

An ordonnance, which appeared on the 25th of February, enabled the bakers to procure fire-wood with greater facility. Orders were given to see that the sewers were properly cleansed. It was also necessary to provide for the lighting of the city, a measure which was

quite out of the question during the first few days.

On the evening of the 26th my colleague and friend, Sobrier, was attacked by a violent fever; he had passed many nights without sleep, and his strength was exhausted. I met few men so ready, and so willing, to act for the general good. My robust constitution, and my habit of allowing myself very little sleep, enabled me to support these interminable labours so contrary to my temperament, which requires a great deal of exercise in the open air. Every minute brought its work with it. I had everything done upon the spot, and urged on the slow *bureaucratics*, those plagues to private individuals, and who are always detrimental to the public service.

The barricades all this time remained. A well-founded distrust kept the insurgents at their posts. The great arteries which lead to that vast reservoir of the provisions of Paris, called the *Marché des Innocens*, being intercepted, it was necessary to obviate this inconvenience at once, so as to open to the population the means of procuring the food of which

it stood in need. The arrival and departure of the mails had already been looked to.

I sent for some of the commanders of the barricades, and requested them to throw open the main arteries of communication, informing them that every moment I was receiving the adhesion of the principal towns to the Government of the Republic, which was everywhere hailed with enthusiasm. I assured them that a watchful eye would discern and prevent any attempt on the part of the enemies of the revolution.

On the following morning, thanks to their good will and assistance, nearly all the barricades had been removed, and the sanitary condition of the capital might now be attended to; accordingly I issued a proclamation, recommending cleanliness, and a free passage for the population.

It was necessary to see to the pavement of the streets. They who have not witnessed those mounds of paving-stones, heaped up by the revolutionary spirit, cannot form an idea on the matter. Engineers and paviours were put in

requisition, and a notable improvement was soon apparent.

The repaving of Paris recalls to my mind a little anecdote, which some estimable gentlemen, not over-well inclined towards myself, distorted, by pourtraying it under false colours. The facts are as follows:

Cuni, one of my fellow prisoners at Doullens, had arrived in Paris; his first visit was to me. He came in the uniform of an artilleryman, and he waited till nearly two o'clock in the morning, until I was at liberty to have a chat with him. I offered to accompany him to his hotel, in the Rue Beauregard, wishing at the same time to visit the *quartiers* St. Denis, which I was told had been neglected. Pools of stagnant water had been reported to me, and I was desirous of seeing how far my orders had been obeyed.

My head was aching, and I was fatigued from eighteen hours' incessant labour, and consequently I felt a great want of fresh air. We walked along conversing on the topics of the day until we reached the top of the *Petit Carreau*,

where we met a patrol of National Guards, commanded by a lieutenant, whose name I have never been able to ascertain. A "*qui vive,*" in a sonorous voice, occasioned probably by Cuni's uniform, and followed by "*passez au large,*" made us turn into the Rue Bourbon-Villeneuve, where we stopped to take leave of each other. I was turning my steps in the direction of the Préfecture, when the same patrol came up, and asked me if we had any orders of free passage. I showed them mine, which ran as follows:—"*Laissez-passer le citoyen préfet de police—Caussidière.* Signed by the Secretary of the Préfecture of Police."

Whether from distrust, or a fear of deception, I know not, but he requested me to follow him. On arriving at the guard-house in the Rue Mauconseil, three of these gentlemen offered to accompany me to the Préfecture. On our way there I was recognized by an officer, who thought I had an escort, whilst, on the contrary, I was a prisoner.

At the principal gate of the Préfecture the lieutenant wished to retire with his men, but I requested them to enter, and once in my

cabinet I said, "You are my prisoners, gentlemen, and cannot leave me thus."

An usher brought in two bottles of wine and some biscuits. After having touched our glasses in honour of the Republic:—"You have taken a noble revenge," said one of them, and they withdrew.

Thus, because I repaid by an act of politeness an error of over zeal, it was imputed that I had been taken up drunk by the patrol.

Good men, who live upon calumnies, if I was your friend, I could only wish your heads were as clear and as little affected as mine was during the exercise of my duties.

Like all true democrats, I renounced all feelings of animosity in the Tuileries, and I refused to look at the informations which poured in upon me, in shoals, as soon as I had entered office. I had far more important matters to attend to, God knows, than to run after M. Hébert and his accomplices; it was necessary to establish unity between all classes of society, and to make sure of the frank and devoted co-operation with the Government of all by all. It was with this object that I surrounded myself

with a certain force, which might—as will be seen in the sequel,—by giving weight to my authority, enable me to avoid having recourse to violent measures to ensure the execution of my orders.

From the very first I was admirably seconded by my friends and some of my colleagues. With the exception of the *affaire Delahodde*, and an incident which I am about to relate, I had to deplore very few acts of insubordination.

It was on the 29th February that Souchet, who acted as chief armourer, remarked that a valuable rifle was missing. I also missed a pistol, and some other articles. Calling all my officers together, I said: "There is a thief amongst you, he must be discovered. Make no remarks, but watch." Half an hour afterwards the thief was found, arrested, and convicted. He was an old frequenter of the Hôtel, where he gave fencing lessons to M. Pinel. Favoured by his uniform of the National Guard, he pretended to be very zealous, and entered everywhere. In addition to the arms and other articles which he had carried away, and which were found in his rooms, he had persuaded

M. Delessert's confidential servant to conceal the plate, telling him that it was not safe under the care of the republicans on duty at the Préfecture. The plate in question was estimated at 100,000 francs. He himself assisted the servant in concealing the plate in a closet, which he opened by means of a picklock. But he was arrested before he had completed his *razzia*. Two silver dishes were found at his house, which, with the arms, were returned to their lawful owners.

I cannot express how vexed I felt at this theft, or how I was rejoiced to learn afterwards that the malefactor was not a republican *de la veille*, as they were called by the republicans *du Lendemain*.

To distinguish those of my men at the Préfecture who were on military service, I made them wear a red sash and a brassart. The *brassart* was a distinction of authority.

This red colour alarmed many timid persons, who always pay more attention to the form than the substance. Some distinctive sign was necessary, to avoid blunders, and the introduction of dishonest men amongst our body.

Red, the symbol of unity, did not mean that we had sanguinary views. Except when in the combat, I have generally found republicans men of humane and gentle manners, whilst many who adopt white for their colour, often conceal under that pure and snowy covering, vindictive and cruel passions. Read history.

However this may be, I never looked to the colour of the garb, the position or fortune of citizens, when justice was to be rendered to them. I never forgot this precept: "All men are brothers." Wherefore otherwise should we have restored that glorious device so often effaced by tyranny: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity?" three words which correspond to the idea of a democratic and social Republic.

The tricolor flag of the old Republic was adopted and replaced on all the public edifices.

I prohibited the sale of arms and ammunition, unless the names both of the seller and buyer were inscribed on a special register. It was also necessary to collect the horses of the old Municipal Guard, which were scattered and stabled all over Paris; and after active researches 259 horses were recovered, and were made

available for the service of the Republican Guard.

A number of Municipal Guards, prisoners in the barracks, had hitherto received only enough bread to keep them alive. I ordered the regular soldier's allowance to be given them; and in a few days they were set at liberty.

A list was kept by my orders, of those citizens who, since the 24th February, had been on duty at the Préfecture.

On the third day after my installation, some twenty Commissaries of Police, of the different *quartiers*, came to receive my instructions. I bade these gentleman walk in, who seemed to take me for Sancho Pança in his island. Each of them submitted to me the wants and disorders of his district. They all spoke at once, and endeavoured to disconcert me. I perceived what they were aiming at, and passing them in review with a glance, I ordered them to speak only when I questioned them: "I know what you are capable of," I said, "I hope, as far as many of you are concerned, the future will make me forget the past. A new era commences. Be humane and conciliatory; lend

me your assistance towards the re-establishment of order, and do not forget that your first duty is to prevent theft and pillage, under whatever shape they may appear. In default of *sergens de ville*, you may call in the assistance of the guard stationed in your respective districts; I am sure they will stand by you. Keep an eye on the haunts of thieves, and do not meddle with politics, it can only be a source of trouble to you."

These gentlemen withdrew in silence, after protesting their devotion, which for some time they gave me little opportunity of appreciating.

CHAPTER II.

Visit to the Provisional Government—The sabre with the red knots and the fighting-cap—The balustrade of the Hôtel de Ville—The Bee-hive—A turbulent crowd—An assault—Elbows and shoulders—The crush—The Tower of Babel—The Prefect of Police robbed—Sharing like brothers—Strict orders—Ledru Rollin not admitted—The workmen of the *Moniteur*—The green cloth—General Thiard, MM. Recurt, and Flottard—The table of the Government—Heaps of papers—The moderate party and the democrats—Garnier Pagès and Flocon.—Eternal discussions—Flocon succumbs to his exertions—A man can only get on with his own fellows—Albert wishes to resign—Great marks of superiority—The love of talking—What do they wish to make of me?—Five hundred pupils of St. Cyr—Bread and wine—He who brings is always welcome—Chaos in the streets and in the Council—The Left of the Government—Here comes the Prefect!—Hum!—What an appearance!—Five feet ten inches—White linen—Magisterial dignity.

WHILST I was finding my way, as best I could, in this labyrinth of affairs of every description, I only received indirect intelligence of

what the Provisional Government was doing in its sittings at the Hôtel de Ville.

I therefore resolved, on the evening of the 26th February, to go and pay them a visit, so as to inform myself on various subjects. I set out, accompanied by a guard of twenty men.

I had no time to change my dress, and had by my side my sabre with the red knots, a brace of pistols in my sash, and my fighting cap.

We arrived at the balustrade in front of the Hôtel de Ville, through innumerable guards and challenges of "*qui vive*," and were obliged every moment to give the pass-word.

I can compare the entrance of the Hôtel de Ville to nothing else than a bee-hive.

An armed and turbulent crowd thronged the steps. Those under the peristyle were on duty, and continually drove back the crowd which stopped up the staircase.

To obtain an entrance it was necessary to make a regular assault, and bring into play both elbows and shoulders, at the risk of losing a limb or two.

I was obliged to leave my escort behind and

to try and force my way, accompanied by my lieutenant only.

Twice I was driven back with loss, but, thanks to my vigorous efforts and to my being recognized by some citizens, I succeeded, with my lieutenant, in reaching the staircase of the first story.

The leader of the escort, whom I had taken in tow, was a sprightly student, who was all but stifled in the crush.

The mass of armed and unarmed citizens that occasioned this confusion were there to see and hear what was going on; perhaps, also, to claim service at the Hôtel de Ville.

It was the Tower of Babel on a small scale.

If I did not lose one of my limbs in this rough passage, I lost one of my pistols. To save my *amour propre* as Prefect, I have always endeavoured to persuade myself that in the scuffle it fell out of my belt, but the fact is it was snatched out. I cannot say precisely at what moment; some honest citizen, doubtless, who had no arms, was of opinion that I did not need two, and that like good brothers we ought to go shares.

I was somewhat disconcerted at it, as in critical moments like these, a man is glad to have his weapons at hand.

On the landing-place of the first floor I encountered similar obstacles to impede my progress to the Provisional Government. Its orders were so strict, that when one of its members presented himself alone, he had equal difficulties to contend against.

The evening before, Citizen Ledru Rollin had been refused admittance, and it was with great difficulty that he rejoined his colleagues.

Although the first floor swarmed with citizens and pupils of the Polytechnic School, the crowd was not so dense as below.

In about an hour I at last reached the door of the council chamber. In a long gallery, through which I had to pass, the printers of the *Moniteur* were busy printing the decrees which left the council chamber. A somewhat disorderly activity was visible everywhere. Every man seemed aware of the necessity of getting through his work as fast as possible.

All the members of the Provisional Govern-

ment were seated round a large table with the indispensable green cloth.

General Thiard, Recurt, Flottard, and other citizens were also seated at the governmental table. These gentlemen were literally buried alive in a heap of torn papers, which inundated the floor of the room, and reached up to an ordinary man's waist.

A heavy and oppressive atmosphere weighed upon this assembly. I approached a window which was half open, my sabre under my arm, and awaited the termination of a discussion that was going on.

I thus was a witness how the affairs of the Republican Government were managed. They commenced drawing up a decree, which was soon torn up, the fragments being sent to increase the heap upon the floor, and then all was commenced over again. The warfare between the moderate and democratic parties, existed there in full force. Flocon and Garnier Pagès appeared to me the two most doughty champions, the one for energetic, the other for the most dilatory measures.

I shall not relate word for word all that

came to my ears, lest haply I should commit an error of memory.

I shall only add, that a decree was under discussion, and that it was to be drawn up. It was quite evident that Flocon was dead beat from exertion, and he soon fell sick, and lost that warm enthusiasm which animated him during the first days of the Revolution.

He has repeatedly told me since, that they took a pleasure in working him to death, and this is much to be regretted, for he might have been of essential service to the cause of the revolution. His opinions will doubtless again carry him fresh into the lists, but with the conviction that revolution is only possible with its originators, and that a man can only get on with his own fellows.

Let him mark well that this advice is dictated by my head and by my heart.

Whilst I was looking on at this decree-making, Albert joined me at the window, and said:

"Matters don't go on well, here; I look as if I was one too many. I feel greatly inclined to tender my resignation."

"Do nothing of the sort," I replied, "unless it is necessary to recommence the struggle. The people must have in this Government representatives selected from their own body; be firm, and oppose yourself energetically to any reactionary measures. The people have paid with their blood for the right of having their own delegates here; they are victorious, your power is consequently great; speak in the name of the people, and you will be listened to."

It was not from a sense of his own inferiority that Albert wished to retire, but he was hurt by the airs of superiority which some of his colleagues assumed towards him, who undervalued the intelligence and practical common sense of our friend.

The love of talk ruled supreme there.

After waiting for an hour, till the debate concluded, I stated the object of my visit. It was necessary to take some administrative measures; it was necessary, therefore, that I should be in more frequent communication with the Government, that there might be a community of action.

What did they wish to make of me? They replied that they were about to take steps to regulate the different functions, and they requested me to continue my endeavours to re-establish order.

At this moment the Provisional Government were informed of the arrival of the pupils of St. Cyr, to the number of five hundred.

They had forcibly resisted the authority of their commanders, and had proceeded in a body to offer their services to the Republic.

The Provisional Government thanked them for their zeal, and lodged them in some of the large apartments of the hôtel. As they were worn out from fatigue and long fasting, it was necessary to provide them with food, but there was not a loaf to be had at any of the bakers' in the neighbourhood, and since eleven o'clock at night all the shops had been closed.

What was to be done?

"Don't be concerned about it," said I, stepping forward; "in half an hour they shall have enough to eat and drink."

I called my escort, and proceeded to the faubourg St. Germain; two bakers provided

me, for a receipt, with five hundred pounds of bread. Sausages, cheese, and three hundred bottles of wine, procured in other quarters, formed this *improvisé* banquet. My men returned to the Hôtel de Ville with loaves stuck on their bayonets, the rest being carried in baskets.

Some workmen made a show of seizing the bread, but when I explained to them that it was destined for citizens who had had a long day's march, and had eaten nothing during the day, they at once relinquished the idea, and formed themselves into a guard, to oppose any attempt to prevent the provisions arriving at their destination.

Thus chaos still prevailed in the street and in the council.

Diligence and perseverance, however, might still restore harmony; judicious decrees might give confidence to the revolutionary portion of the population, and with these reflections I placed my trust in the Left of the Provisional Government, although it was inferior in number.

Had it not the victorious people to support it?

On leaving the Hôtel de Ville, I heard a pupil of the Polytechnic School observe to one of his comrades, pointing me out with his finger:—

"There goes the Prefect of Police."—"Hum!" said the other, "*quelle tournure!*"

The fact is, my appearance was certainly singular enough. My clothes were bespattered and torn, and my face was flushed from many nights passed without sleep. My sabre is a large one, the blade as broad as a man's hand; I had a red sash round my waist, with a pistol stuck in it; add to which, a height of five feet ten inches, French measure, and my appearance may be easily concluded to have been decidedly eccentric.

On my return to the Préfecture, I immediately ordered fresh linen to be brought me, and a change of clothes, that I might not compromise my magisterial dignity, the more so as I am of the opinion that a man should always be as well-dressed as possible.

CHAPTER III.

Magnanimity of the Revolution of February—Louis Philippe and his Ministers—Orders for the arrest of MM. Guizot and Duchatel—Citizen Perrot de Chezelles—Orders of arrest against the other Ministers—Informations—Golden dreams—Saint-Just and M. Lamartine—First decrees of the Provisional Government—Poor and rich—Patrols and night-robbers—Liberated galley-slaves and *filles publiques*—The safety-brigade—Organization of the Montagnards—Their uniform—*La garde en sabots* — Suggestions of Blanqui—Order with disorder—Promises of February—The prisons of Paris—Sainte Pelagie, La Force, La Roquette—The cellular system and penitentiary reform—Prisoners for political offences set at liberty—Fête at the Préfecture—The Préfecture turned into a Court of Justice.

THE revolution of February, magnanimous as all popular revolutions are, perpetrated no acts of vengeance on the late oppressors of France. The king and the princes were allowed to depart without any notice being taken of them. Time was also given to the ministers to allow them to gain the frontier in safety.

It was not till the 27th of February that I

received instructions from the Government at the Hôtel de Ville to issue warrants for the arrest of the Sieurs Guizot and Duchâtel, at the request of Citizen Perrot de Chezelles and Citizen de la Haye. Warrants were also issued against M. Hébert, ex-Minister of Justice and Public Worship; the Duke of Montebello, ex-Minister of Marine; the Sieur Trézel, ex-Minister of War; the Sieur de Salvandy, ex-Minister of Public Instruction; the Sieur Dumon, ex-Minister of Finances; the Sieur Cunin-Gridaine, ex-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; and the Sieur Jayr, ex-Minister of Public Works.

Informations innumerable were brought to me respecting these men, whose flight I could easily have prevented; but, like the people, I had golden dreams, and only sought compensation for our past misfortunes in the liberal institutions which the Republic seemed to have in store for us.

Alas! Has the Republic kept its promises? "As long as one poor man remains in the state," said St. Just, "you will not have established a veritable Republic."

"As long as you are deficient in one single truth," said M. de Lamartine, "as long as there are truths in the hands of your enemies which you do not adopt, you will not be able to sleep in peace."

We have proofs already of the justness of those words. The liberties we gained in February have been torn from us. We are refused the possession of rights, on the plea that the principle of them is misunderstood; and already our oppressors, notwithstanding their hundred thousand bayonets,—notwithstanding the state of siege and the slavery of the press, cannot go to rest with any certainty of what the morrow will bring forth.

The Provisional Government published, during the first days of their rule, some decrees which were well received by the people; and for my part, I endeavoured to re-establish at the same time physical order and moral harmony, and by these means consolidate the revolution.

I was at that time well seconded by all classes of the citizens. One common feeling seemed to actuate all. Whilst a free circulation

was being re-established, the traffic on the river was resumed, the markets were stocked with provisions, and poor and rich alike enrolled themselves as military defenders of the public safety. Numerous patrols paraded the streets all the night, and prevented housebreakers from following their pursuits. This state of things, however, could not last long. The citizens, worn out by fatigue, gradually relaxed their voluntary service. It was time to think of organising some regular and permanent force, that they might take charge of the prisons, and do duty where dangerous collisions threatened the safety of the Republic.

Representations of every description poured in upon me. Malefactors and the galley-slaves who had escaped were not sufficiently watched; the conduct of the *filles publiques* was beyond restraint, and many of the prison authorities demanded my interference to aid them in keeping down the insubordination and attempts to escape made in their respective establishments.

I therefore set to work to reorganize the police and safety brigades, of which I shall have to speak hereafter; at the same time that I

established the body of Montagnards, which consisted partly of workmen out of employ, who had given proofs of courage and patriotism on the barricades.

Some well-known patriots were charged with the immediate organization of the *Garde du Peuple.* The first claim to form part of this body was a certificate that the bearer had been imprisoned for political offences; the second a certificate that he had fought in February; and the third that the applicant was a well-conducted man, and that he had served honourably in the army.

It was laid down that all grades up to that of captain inclusively, were to be decided by election.

Four companies were formed immediately. The Montagnard, the Company of Saint Just, the Company of February, and the Lyonnaise.

These four companies, consisting of about six hundred men, were reinforced afterwards by other companies, in the barracks of Tournon and the Celestins, under the name of *Garde Républicaine,* and mustered in horse and foot about two thousand seven hundred strong.

This primitive guard had regular pay, dating from the 1st of April, each citizen receiving 2 francs 25 centimes per diem, without distinction as to his grade.

Their uniform consisted at first of a red cravat and a sash of the same colour; a blouse was afterwards added. I ordered a distribution of boots and shoes to those who stood most in need of them; and certainly they wanted them, for many of them mounted guard for many days in wooden shoes, or *sabots*.

For six weeks these brave men slept on camp beds. Slept! I should rather say were to have slept, for they were on foot day and night, never once shrinking from a single duty imposed upon them. They appointed their own leaders, and regulated all their own affairs. I may add, that for a fortnight I had no occasion whatever to inflict a punishment. Their independent spirit often urged them to breaches of discipline, but, nevertheless, in no case did they refuse to sanction an act of justice.

Until the second week in April not the slightest jealousy or rivalry was visible in the ranks of the Montagnards. It was then only,

when their numbers had greatly increased, that certain suggestions by Blanqui gave rise to some discord. In truth, we were establishing external order with internal disorder.

And to-day what has become of those brave men? Pursued by an insensate and unreasonable hatred; hunted down everywhere, many of them are driven, as the only resource to save them from starvation, to seize their rifle, the last argument of the proletary reduced to the state of a Paria.

I promised them, and my promise was a sincere one, made as it was in the name of the Government, of whose wishes I was the interpreter, that those who could not take service should be provided for. Promises of July repeated in February!

But now those that have returned to their homes are under the strict surveillance of the police, who would only be too glad to excite them to some act that might entail imprisonment upon them. In the course of the month of August last, M. Carlier, head of the police of the Home Office, ordered his agents to ascertain the occupations, and the places of

meeting of all of these victims. His sole object must have been to sacrifice them.

Surrounded by some intelligent comrades, whose popularity and practical common sense were of the greatest service to me, I was enabled to establish a regular force in the prisons. By these means attempts at escape were put down at Ste. Pelagie, La Force, and La Roquette, by the firmness of the directors and the brave men I had sent to their assistance, the prison of La Roquette especially, often the scene of uproar on account of their work being stopped, and the bad quality of the bread, which I ordered to be changed. A constant inspection of the provisions distributed to prisoners cannot be too strongly recommended to all inspectors.

Idleness in prisons is also most pernicious. I visited the cells of all prisoners condemned to solitary confinement, and found that many of them were in a state of idiotcy, from the want of some daily occupation.

I had not the time necessary to make many reforms in the organization of the prisons where so very many are requisite. Are not

these reforms necessary for public morality?

Our first act at the Préfecture was to set at liberty all those citizens who had been imprisoned by the monarchy for political offences; and one morning they waited upon me in a body, a drum at their head, and bearing a flag, the emblem of their wretched fate as political prisoners. With what joy I embraced those noble victims! How many old faces did I recognise, furrowed and care-worn by long imprisonment, but their spirits were as youthful as ever. Many of them entered the ranks of the Montagnards. It was a touching scene that, within the sad and mournful walls of the Préfecture.

Many of these brave Republicans had been incarcerated for ten years. We embraced them as brothers risen from the grave. We questioned them on their sufferings and their present confidence and courage. This scene of fraternity was one of my few happy moments at the Préfecture. It encouraged me in my labours. I saw a rose-coloured, not a red or a white republic. But my illusions were

shortly to be trodden under foot by the enemies of the revolution!

For I had to contend against secret, yet to me visible schemes, which often paralyzed my efforts. I found it necessary to have recourse to the greatest prudence to avoid falling into snares which were constantly set for me. I at once decided upon taking the most determined steps to put down all revolutionary attempts.

My duty was, wisely to provide for the interests of all. Placed as an arbitrator between the interests of the master and the workman, I was, to use a common expression, between the hammer and the anvil. As a citizen, my sympathies were with the weak and the helpless; as a magistrate, it was my duty to listen only to the voice of justice and common sense, and to put a stop to discord by peaceable means.

In these earlier days of this social revolution the Préfecture was not restricted to the issue of decrees,—it was a permanent court of justice. Its quality of oppression was modified by one of conciliation.

I was in an excellent position to observe the

movements of the human heart, and it was with a feeling of utter disgust that I took up the perfidious and anonymous informations and accusations which seemed to fall from the ceiling of my cabinet upon my desk, endeavouring to excite my suspicion against the men that surrounded me. My distrust was constantly excited; and the men of the *National*, my enemies, endeavoured to make me credit their calumnies. Every day in their council, MM. Garnier Pagès and Pagnerre demanded my dismissal from my post at the Préfecture, and then came sneaking to me with protestations of sympathy. I, however, was entirely absorbed in the execution of my many duties, in directing the different branches of the service, in organizing a military force, in receiving all Paris, in providing for the public safety. I had scarcely three or four hours left me for sleep, and I usually dined whilst reading the reports brought in to me. But the Future of the Republic, and the desire to contribute to the prosperity of my country, sustained my strength in this dangerous and difficult task.

CHAPTER IV.

Schism in the Provisional Government—The Hotel de Ville—The *National* and the *Réforme*—Projects of a Regency—The Duchess of Orleans—Letter from M. Garnier Pagès to M. de Malleville—The Mayor of Paris—My correspondence with Garnier Pagès—Monopoly of situations—M. Armand Marrast—Visit of Garnier Pagès and Recurt to the Préfecture of Police—Recurt appointed to succeed me—My position as delegate is sanctioned—I take the title of Prefect of Police—The staff of the National Guard—Courtais, Guinard, Saisset—The Mayors of Paris and the Banlieue—Anxiety of the Population—Alarming rumours—Proclamations of the Prefect of Police—The state of Paris—The Carnival, masked balls, and theatres—Aspect of Paris at the commencement of March.

THE first obstacles I encountered came from the Hôtel de Ville. The heterogeneous composition of the Provisional Government was not of a nature to restore regularity in public business. Its internal dissensions were felt out of doors.

Chance, the inseparable companion of revolutions, had thrown together in this dictatorial

commission, the most opposite and decidedly hostile elements. One party represented more particularly the *National* and the bourgeoisie; the other the people and the citizens of the barricades. Whilst the latter proclaimed the Republic, the other party endeavoured to re-suscitate all sorts of combinations. The sound of the musketry had scarcely ceased under the windows of the halls of St. John, when M. Garnier Pagès and his friends endeavoured to get up a regency. The Duchess of Orleans had not yet come to any decision, and awaited the course of events; but the great mass of the citizens who returned from the conflict would not hear of a restoration in any shape, and the men who had proposed gotting up a regency were obliged to relinquish the idea.

It was on this occasion that M. Garnier Pagès is said to have written the following hasty note, on the 24th February, to his friend Léon de Malleville, ex-vice-president of the Chamber of Louis Philippe:

"The fools, you must know, have just proclaimed a republic. Prevent the Duchess of

Orleans from appearing. The moment is not propitious——

"Tout à vous, mon bon."

It was evident that the two factions of the Government never could agree.

When M. Garnier Pagès was appointed Mayor of Paris, I was informed that it was his intention, which had been approved of by a a portion of the new Government, to place the Préfecture under the orders of the mayoralty. This immense administration, which from 1815 to 1821 had been constituted a ministry, dependent only upon the king, was thus to be reduced to a mere commissionership.

Already under the preceding *régimes* the Préfecture of the Seine had attempted to seize upon the municipal police, to lessen the importance of the Préfecture of Police. But these attempts always foundered when practical experience was brought to bear upon them. I had not then sufficient insight into the question to discuss its merits. My duty was to assist the Government, and I was ready to resign as soon as it was firmly established.

I accepted, therefore, the title of delegate, which was for the moment to replace that of Prefect. But my position was an unpleasant one. The Mayor of Paris had inherited the spirit of opposition which formerly animated the Prefect of the Seine against the Préfecture of Police; and this feeling was increased by the ascendancy acquired by that fraction of the Republican party of which the mayor was a member. It was resolved to annex the Préfecture of Police simply as a branch establishment of the mayoralty.

It followed that I was recognized at first only as a delegate in the department of the police. But a delegate of whom? The Provisional Government had not placed itself in direct communication with me; and from the very first my position caused me so much disgust and embarrassment that I thrice sent in my resignation to the Hôtel de Ville. It was in consequence of this anomalous position that the *Moniteur*, under the pretext that it could only insert the decrees of the recognized Government, refused to open its columns to a decree I sent to it. This refusal caused me

an oppression of the heart, which with me is always the precursor of anger,—a passion I have succeeded in mastering after many years' struggle against it. I saw at once it was necessary that my position should be distinctly recognized or that I must leave it, for I foresaw all the difficulties I should have to contend with. I therefore wrote the following letter to the Mayor of Paris:—

"*Paris, 26th February*, 1848.

"I beg of Monsieur le Maire de Paris to have the kindness to come to the Préfecture, and at the same time to see my position properly regulated with respect to the official organs of the Government.

"I cannot accept the responsibility of my office, if I have to struggle against other administrations that do not recognize my quality of delegate.

"Consequently, I beg of you to have this state of confusion put a stop to, and count upon the zeal of

"*Votre tout devoué,*

"CAUSSIDIERE."

I immediately received the following reply:

"As soon as I have a moment to spare, I will come and see you.

"*Bon courage,*

"GARNIER PAGES.

"Everything is going on well."

I was, however, informed from all quarters, that the men of the *National*—that is to say, the friends of Marrast—were endeavouring to monopolize all the public offices, and that I was to be replaced by one of their set. I did not hesitate, but immediately sent in my resignation.

I had scarcely done so when I received a visit from MM. Garnier Pagès and Recurt. The latter came to supersede me, and had a government order to that effect. I endeavoured to place him *au courant* of the business, and he saw at once the immensity of the labours, and the responsibility he would have to encounter. Moreover, the evident dissatisfaction manifested by all the persons employed at the Préfecture, added to the conviction that he was about to do a bad action, induced him to tear his warrant to pieces.

Before leaving, Garnier Pagès, perceiving what effect his visit had made, and fearing lest the Montagnards should smell a rat, as regarded his democratic views, endeavoured to reinstate himself in their good opinion, by one of those strange speeches which he alone has the happy art of making.

"My son," he said to them, "my own son is a grocer's boy in the Rue de la Verrerie! The son of your mayor a grocer's shop boy!!! We are all of us workmen; my son is a workman in the grocery line!—" Here he stopped short; whether that he was too much overcome by emotion to continue his speech, or whether the smile visible on the countenances of his audience, warned him that he was on the wrong tack, I do not know. He perceived, however, that it would be dangerous to dismiss me at that moment, and he joined Rècurt in solicitations to me to remain in office. I consented; but on the express condition that my nomination should be officially announced in the *Moniteur* of that day.

Within an hour afterwards, I received the following letter:—

"FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"*Provisional Government.*

"The Mayor of Paris decrees,

"Monsieur Marc Caussidière is appointed provisional delegate of the Mayor of Paris in the administration of police in the department of the Seine.

"GARNIER PAGES, Mayor of Paris.

"*Paris, 26th February,* 1848."

But no announcement appeared in the *Moniteur*. Now I did not care a straw for a privately guaranteed appointment; to act with any degree of authority, it was necessary that the public should be made acquainted with my powers. It was, therefore, necessary for me to remind the mayor of his promise of the evening before. If I enter into these details, it is because they are necessary to explain the commencement of the struggle I had to maintain for nearly three months.

"*Paris, 27th February,* 1848.

"I have the honour to remind Citizen Garnier Pagès of the promise he made to me yes-

terday to have my appointment inserted in the *Moniteur*. For the tranquillity of the city, for a perseverance in the line of conduct which you yesterday pronounced good and exemplary, for a continuance with efficacy of the work commenced, it is absolutely necessary that I should not be disavowed every day by the journals, who designate M. Recurt as delegate of police.

"CAUSSIDIERE."

Different members of the Provisional Government who had called upon me, testified at the Hôtel de Ville to the activity I had shown, and the order I had established at the Préfecture, as also to my incessant efforts to provide for all that was necessary. They determined to confirm me in my office, making a virtue of necessity, and on the following day the mayor came and confirmed my nomination as delegate, in presence of all the *chefs de division* of the Préfecture.

This state of things lasted till the 13th March following, when I was officially proclaimed Prefect of Police.

From that time the Préfecture resumed its

plenary functions as determined by the decree of 12 Messidor, Year VIII of the Republic.

The staff of the National Guard had just been organized. The commander-in-chief, Courtais, belonged to the party of the *National*, who had entrusted this important post to him. The second in command was Guinard, with the title of general of the staff. Colonel Saisset took upon himself the task of organizing this force. Until the National Guard had named its officers, these functions and the staff were filled by pupils of the Polytechnic school, and of the college of St. Cyr. I was always on excellent terms with the staff. I may say the same of the twelve mayors of Paris and the Banlieue, who had often need of my assistance.

Notwithstanding the victory of the people, and the retreat of the troops from the capital, the public mind was constantly agitated by fears of reaction and nocturnal assaults. In addition, men who had property to lose, were in dread of pillage. I caused the most minute inquiries to be made, and convinced myself that there was no foundation for these alarms, which were purposely propagated. I therefore

regarded it as my duty to issue a proclamation refuting those reports. I also took every precaution to prevent the circulation of false rumours, and saw that the condition of Paris was properly attended to in every respect. The following is the proclamation I issued.

"FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.*

"Alarming rumours, circulated by timid or evil-disposed persons, and perhaps too easily credited, yesterday caused a certain panic amongst the population.

"Rumours of projected attacks against property, and of devastations, aroused the fears of those who fancied themselves threatened by them.

"On the other hand, the people of the barricades are agitated by reports of monarchical reactionary attempts.

"The police has directed its attention to these strange rumours, and has taken every necessary step to ascertain how far they were founded.

"The Delegate of the Department of Police

is happy to have it in his power to state to the citizens of Paris and the Banlieue, that after the most minute investigations, it is his conviction, that the rumours in question are entirely devoid of foundation.

"*Vigilance, Energy, Devotion.*

Paris, 27 *Feb.*, 1848.

"The Delegate of the French Republic of the Police Department,

"CAUSSIDIERE."

The carnival was approaching, and although the public mind was not in a masquerading humour, nevertheless, to prevent immorality and turbulence, decrees were issued for the preservation of public order.

The public balls took place without the slightest disturbance, notwithstanding the total absence of the spies and police of the former government. Volunteers of the National Guard were on duty at the balls at the Opera House.

For the theatres I organized a force of my faithful Montagnards, who performed their duty to the satisfaction of the managers and of the public.

Thus, gradually, the traces of the great convulsion of the revolution disappeared. Every man returned to his occupation and his business. The Boulevards were crowded as usual; carriages drove up and down the Champs Elysées; the working-classes placed their trust in the promises of the Government, and everything seemed to indicate a prosperous future.

CHAPTER V.

The funeral solemnities—The 4th March—The Church of the Madeleine — Decorations—The cortège — The Car of the Republic—The hearses—Speeches of the members of the Government—The 27th February—The Column of the Bastille—Old Europa — The victims — The mission of France — The glory of arms — Literary genius—Social genius—Ancient days—Reflections—Opinion of M. Garnier Pagès—The popular ceremonies—Festival of the dead—Community of the living—New consecration of the Republic.

WHILST the new Republic was endeavouring to consolidate its internal organization, and whilst its Minister of Foreign affairs, M. de Lamartine addressed a pacific circular to the different diplomatic agents abroad, which indicated the unhappy path on which we were ultimately to enter, The Republic was also

occupied with the care of burying the dead who fell in its cause upon the barricades.

A funeral procession, such as Paris had never seen the like within her walls, took place on the 4th of March.

The people had furnished their contingent of dead to the cause of liberty, and they were not backward in paying a last tribute to the manes of their brothers.

From ten o'clock in the morning the Boulevards, the neighbourhood of the church of the Madeleine, the Place de la Concorde, and the Place de la Bastille, were thronged with National Guards, with troops of foot and horse, political corporations, and workmen's associations.

The church of the Madeleine was hung in black cloth, decorated outside with flags and wreaths of immortelles. Above the porch were the words:

"To the Citizens who fell for Liberty."

The interior of the temple was hung in black drapery with white borders.

A superb catafalque of granite was erected in front of the altar. This catafalque represented

an ancient funeral temple, on each side were the words:

"They died for Freedom!"

The service was performed by the clergy of the Madeleine.

Under the peristyle of the temple there was a chorus of vocal singers, to sing the national of the best masters.

From the Madeleine to the Bastille festoons of drapery of the national colours hung from lamp to lamp and tree to tree, in one unbroken line.

A few guards only were on duty at the corners of the streets, to prevent carriages from passing through the crowd; no accident, however, occurred, on many miles of ground densely covered with human beings.

On the Place de la Bastille, on the summit of the column which serves as a pedestal to the genius of Liberty, two immense oriflammes displayed their folds, the one was black with silver stars, the other was the national colours. At the base of the monument twenty ancient tripods sent forth flames of blue and green fire.

The enclosure was hung with the tricolor colours.

At half-past twelve the Provisional Government, and the different established authorities and deputations, entered the temple of the Madeleine, and the service commenced, which lasted an hour.

A symbolic car, as high as the third story of the houses, was crowned with a statue of the Republic. Each corner was hung with tricolor flags. A mass of branches of laurel and of oak were strewed upon it. In the front, in letters of gold, were the words, "*Vive la République;*" on each side, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Two clasped hands in bronze represented the unity of the nation.

This car was drawn by eight milk-white horses, richly caparisoned.

The immense *cortège* of 200,000 citizens advanced along the Boulevards through 500,000 spectators, singing national and patriotic hymns.

National Guards on horseback, Dragoons, Cuirassiers, National Guards on foot, Garde Mobile, Volunteers, Sapeurs-Pompiers, the pupils of the Polytechnic School and of St.

Cyr, the whole magisterial corps, the decorated of July, all the established authorities, the lictors of the Republic, the wounded of the three days, bearing colours, preceded the funeral car, which was followed by the Provisional Government, and the Mayors and Adjutants of the twelve *arrondissemens* of Paris.

The *cortège* was concluded by the Polish emigrants, corporations, battalions of all arms. For three hours and a half it advanced between two living hedges.

A brilliant sun poured down its rays upon this act of popular piety, and engendered in the hearts of all, hope, that last religion of man.

As the hearses approached near the column, the relations of the deceased rushed towards the vaults. Hereupon the Secretary-General of the Provisional Government advanced towards them, and addressed them as follows:—

"Citizens,

"Family affections, however sacred they may be, must make place to-day to those of the country.

"The relations you have lost, the children

for whom you weep, who have died for the Republic, are, above all things, the children of the Republic; it is for it to glorify their funeral. Leave to the Provisional Government the pious mission of expressing at once the anguish of private grief, and the profound sentiment of public gratitude and sorrow."

The relations of the victims, with touching resignation, retired to make room for the Provisional Government, who now stood upon the old foundations of the Bastille. Reiterated shouts in honour of the Republic for a long time prevented the voice of Dupont de l'Eure from being heard.

When silence had been restored, the President of the Provisional Government spoke as follows:—

"Citizens,

"I am deeply afflicted to speak on the subject which brings us together.

"No one is more desirous than myself to pay to the unhappy victims, the glorious victims of our noble and last revolution, the tribute of gratitude which is due to them; but my

strength will not allow me to make myself heard. Some of my colleagues of the Provisional Government purpose addressing you, and they will speak to you better than I could respecting the great and mournful ceremony that has called us together at the foot of this monument. Let me, however, place this crown of laurel and *immortelles* on the coffins of those who will soon be placed side by side with our brothers who died for the cause of Liberty in 1830."

"*Vive la République!*"

Loud and unanimous acclamations hailed this speech, and from all sides one mighty shout of "*Vive la République!*" rent the air.

Citizen Crémieux, member of the Provisional Government, then spoke as follows:—

"The government that has just fallen was established for the purposes of one man.

"To the will of that man it sacrificed the honour, the glory, the dearest interests of France. The career of those sad powers has has left ineffacable traces; they live only by corruption, and by corruption they die; the

government you have expelled endeavoured to sow corruption and seduction in the hearts of all that approached it. After an ephemeral success of a few days, the public conscience rose in a body.

"Our proud France launched a unanimous cry of reprobation against him, and he disappeared.

"On these ruins, which the hand of time will never raise again, took for its motto the eternal symbol of the Revolution, 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!'

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity! — Behold there, citizens, the condemnation of the past, the work of the present, and of the future. Let one sole aim henceforth be our only means of government: morality, purity of heart, and justice."

An immense shout of "*Vive la Republique*" was the funeral prayer pronounced by the multitude on the tomb of their brothers, and every man returned to his home, with the calm conscience of having done a good action.

Already on the previous Sunday, the 27th of February, the Provisional Government had

paid a visit to the Column of July, to inaugurate the Republic, and the people then heard speeches from MM. Arago, Dupont de l'Eure, and Crémieux. The religious solemnity of the 4th of March was a new consecration of the republican future, conquered by the barricades. The idea triumphed; it had struck deep roots in the hearts of the people.

Whatever future reactionary attempts were in store, the Republic had been adopted; its development might be quick or slow, and progress with more or less labour, but the principle had been understood, and was soon to shake old Europe to its very foundations.

"Glory to you, generous victims of liberty, your blood shall not have sprinkled the arid soil in vain. The people, our neighbours, have been startled at the sound of the voice of France. Who knows, and I have a presentiment that it will come to pass, soon these new sons of democracy will out-do their elders in the path of progress, the greater the struggle they will have to maintain, the greater will be their efforts, and the more radical will be the solution.

" For a long time France has taken the lead in social progress. May internal dissensions and personal ambitions not impede her in her mission of teacher of the people; she would lose the noblest flower in her chaplet.

" After having acquired a renown in the field of arms and of literature, let her place herself in the first ranks by her social genius and her love of mankind. That is an ideal worthy of the aspirations of a great nation!"

Such were the thoughts that flitted rapidly across my mind as I witnessed this ceremony, which bore upon it the stamp of by-gone times. I said to myself, men, whose days are so few upon this earth, ought they to pass them in tearing each other to pieces? Let us rather endeavour by our deeds to cause the triumph of the true principles of order; that is to say, the spirit of fraternity, without which no real state of society is possible.

It was these ideas that engendered the wish within me, to make the Préfecture, which had hitherto only caused fear, an instrument of conciliation and fraternity.

There were great obstacles to overcome, but I had a firm will to succeed.

At this moment it was in the power of the Provisional Government to attempt radical reforms, which would have been accepted by the people.

M. Garnier Pagès expressed himself as follows in this respect, on the evening of the 4th of March. "The results of the day's proceedings are immense for the Republic. It has been proved that the general sympathy was favourable to the Revolution."

He also was a better Republican on that day than he was on the 24th of February!

These ceremonies, in which the people are called upon to take a part, enlarge the ideas at the same time that they purify the heart. They create devotion and give birth to a spirit of concord, which unites men in closer bonds together.

In beholding the solemn and enthusiastic harmony which presided over this festival of the dead, where is the man in whose heart all his nobler feelings would not have stirred, and made him promise to exert all his efforts in

the common cause? Even those least gifted by nature were at this moment perhaps moved by a sentiment of fraternal love.

This festival, in fact, rallied many citizens round the members of the Provisional Government, whose attitude was modest and dignified throughout the whole of the time that the ceremony lasted.

Myself, elated with this unanimous accordance, I returned to my labours more confident in the destinies of our Republic.

The people had once more sanctioned it on the tomb of its martyrs!

CHAPTER VI.

The Duchess of Orleans at the Invalides—The Chateau of Neuilly—Incendiarism—The Gendarmerie—The Bank of France—Arrest of deserters—M. de Girardin—Masters and men—The coachmen's strike—Strike of the washerwomen—The Chateau of the Tuileries—The insurgent garrison—The conditions on which they would give up the Palace—*Procès-verbal* of their capitulation—The Chateau of Vincennes—Destruction of artillery—Bands in the forest—Prudence and firmness of the Montagnards.

By organizing the Montagnards, I surrounded myself with intelligent comrades, sincerely devoted to the Republic, and they constituted an active force capable of keeping in awe all disturbers of the peace. Their services were appreciated after the 26th February.

It was reported that the Duchess of Orleans, who had left on the evening of the day before, was still concealed at the Invalides. The people would not credit her departure, and threats of setting fire to the Hôtel circulated in the neighbourhood. I immediately sent Citizens

Cahaigne and Lacombe there, with a detachment of thirty men, and their firm, and at the same time conciliatory attitude, disarmed the population and saved the Hôtel des Invalides.

On the evening of the same day, I was informed that there was a plan on foot to proceed to Neuilly and destroy all the buildings belonging to the civil list. Citizen Louchet proceeded there at once at the head of a hundred men. Many of these brave men had only wooden shoes, but they understood how to do their duty when the Republic was in danger. Their prudence, and their constant presence as patrols with loaded muskets, intimidated the delinquents, and the Château of Neuilly was saved for the present.

Early in March the station of Rueil was burnt down, and the rails were torn up from Rueil to Nanterre. Citizen Faucher, Juge d'Instruction, proceeded to the spot with a detachment of Montagnards commanded by Mercier and Caillaud. The investigation lasted for three days, and resulted in the arrest of twenty-nine individuals, who were locked up in the Conciergerie.

I also caused visits to be made to different *quartiers* of Paris and the Banlieue; such visits tended to calm the anxiety caused by false alarms, purposely spread by the enemies of the revolution. My agents also often brought in guns and sabres which served to equip our recruits.

My companies of republicans interposed at all times and places where public order was likely to be disturbed. Occasionally they conducted prisoners from the Banlieue, where the local police was not strong enough; at other times they assisted the National Guard in protecting the Bank, and other public establishments (the National Guard often refused to act unless supported by the guard of the people). At other times they searched the town for criminals; for instance, on the 3rd March, they arrested thirty-seven deserters from the army and navy, who were handed over to the military and naval authorities. At other times they protected the printing-presses and machinery which were open to the attacks of misguided men. It is to their zeal that M. de Girardin is indebted, in some measure, for the preservation

of his printing materials, and, perhaps, even his life. They almost always succeeded in dispersing tumultuous assemblages, and so prevented collisions. The conciliatory language of these soldiers, still dressed in the garb of the workman, had a magic effect upon the people.

Sometimes the leaders had to settle disputes and decide between master and men. It was thus that Morisset and Mercier put a stop to the strike of the coachmen and omnibus conductors, who demanded an increase of twenty-five centimes a day. A short time afterwards, Mercier and Caron put an end to the strike of the washerwomen at Puteaux, who wished to have their hours of labour reduced according to the decrees at the Luxembourg.

The number of officers and men increased, and wherever they could be of service, they were sure to be on the spot.

An expedition of theirs which excited great interest at Paris, was one I sent on the 6th March; the object being to dislodge a number of insurgents who, since the 24th February, had taken possession of, and established a regular garrison at, the Tuileries. The Govern-

ment had in vain, and repeatedly ordered this disorderly band to evacuate the Chateau. The conditions on which they consented to leave were stated to be, certificates of patriotism and good conduct, an annuity of 1200 francs to each of them, and a promise not to search them on leaving. Within the Chateau they performed military duty, in common with the Governor Saint Amand and some National Guards, but they obeyed no one, and were a source of alarm to the neighbourhood.

I also learnt that several costly articles had disappeared from the apartments, and some of trifling value were even brought to the Préfecture. My agents of safety had not been allowed to place their seal upon the principal articles, or to remove those of great value. It was time to put an end to this forcible possession, which had lasted too long already.

I therefore sent to the Tuileries a detachment of 150 men, commanded by Citizen Caillaud, who rendered me an account of his mission, in the subjoined *procès-verbal*:—

"CITIZEN PREFECT,

"I proceeded according to your instruc-

tions, with 150 men, to the Palace of the Tuileries, to turn out the individuals who for eleven days refused to obey any authority, and who, it must be added, were the terror of the district.

"On arriving at the Palace, they refused me an entrance, as they had done only two hours previously to 200 pupils of Saint Cyr.

"After some difficulty however, I succeeded in entering alone, to deliver your letter to the citizen governor, who refused to have anything to do with it, for fear of a conflict, and who proceeded to the head staff of the National Guards, where I was sent for a few moments afterwards, and authorized to carry out your instructions. I then went to the wicket, and demanded entrance for my troop.

"The first answer was a shot, fired, as it was said afterwards, by accident, but I may be permitted to doubt it.

"One of their leaders came to the wicket, and announced their determination to resist. Whilst this parley was going on, two of their band came up to get admittance, and the door was opened for them. I endeavoured to turn this to account,

and a struggle ensued, the result of which was, that a pupil of the *Ecole Polytechnique*, a lieutenant of the National Guard, whom I found there by chance, and myself, were shut in between the gate and the inner railing. The pupil of the Ecole Polytechnique made a thrust with his sword, through the bars of the railing, at the band on the other side, who endeavoured to lock themselves in. I succeeded in getting this young man away, otherwise his life would have been in imminent danger.

"After some energetic summonses, they finally decided to let me enter the court yard, where I drew up my men in line. At this moment General Courtais arrived, at the head of the pupils of Saint Cyr, and inspected all the men who since the 24th of February had occupied the Tuileries. They made him a promise to withdraw the following morning, on receiving certificates from the Governor.

"*Salut et Fraternité,*

"CAILLAUD."

"*March* 6, 1848."

On the following morning, according to their word, they left the Tuileries in military array,

with their muskets shouldered, and proceeded in regular order to the Hôtel de Ville, where refreshment was offered to them. My agents recognized some of them as men of a more than suspicious character. About thirty desired to be employed at the Préfecture. Dormes was at their head, and they were admitted without difficulty, but in the end, not being satisfied with many of them, I was obliged to dismiss them.

It was necessary also to protect the Château of Vincennes from depredations, which were attempted every day. Since February the park of artillery had been constantly plundered in the Polygon; the National Guard, not too favourably inclined towards the Republic, never tried to prevent these robberies. The damage thus done was estimated at 80,000 francs.

On the 15th of May a body of Montagnards scoured the forest of Vincennes in every direction, laid an ambush for the thieves, and caught twenty-six at once, many of them with stolen goods on their persons. Nine of them only were given up to justice. This vigorous proceeding prevented farther depredations.

It would take too much time to relate the many incidents of a similar description, in which the Montagnards conducted themselves with prudence and skill. It is my duty to render justice to men who have been calumniated, and most of whom would have rendered great services, if they had not been shamefully disbanded.

CHAPTER VII.

The Archives of the Préfecture of Police—M. de Sartine and his successors—Documents of the first Revolution—Register of the butchery of September—Maillard—The secret police of the last Government—List of all the secret agents—Private police of the different ministries—The numberless reports signed Pierre—Lucien Delahodde—An episode of the 23rd February—Curious letter of a spy—Night-sitting at the Luxembourg—*Procès-verbal* and condemnation—A signed confession—Delahodde at the Conciergerie—M. Pinel and M. Chenu—Robbery and desertion—Eight years at the galleys—M. Allard, chief of the safety-police—The commission of inquiry and the galley-slave—Informations, the order of the day—The police of the Monarchy and the police of the Republic.

THE most interesting and curious documents of the Préfecture are the archives. They are kept with the greatest care imaginable, by M. Labat, who for many years has been entrusted with the classification of the different documents, which would furnish materials for history much better than those commonly resorted to, the exactitude of which may often be questioned.

All the *procès-verbaux* and acts of the first Revolution are there entire. The secret reports on remarkable personages, dating from M. Sartine; the register of persons incarcerated, all the *ordonnances* of the different Prefects, down to the present day, are registered in due order. An amateur of scandal might revel in them for a long while. Every time I took a glance at these memorials of dishonesty, I turned away with disgust. The reports of spies and informers are arranged with as much neatness as if they were the Bucolics of Virgil.

I read through the famous register of the days of September, which contains the names of all the actors in those scenes of bloodshed. Each perpetrator of that butchery received eighty francs for his bloody work. It was speaking of them, that Maillard expressed himself as follows: "Give drink to those children; they have deserved well of their country."

Many men of our own time would feel little flattered at finding, in that blood-bespattered manuscript, the names, surnames, residence, and profession of their fathers.

If I had wished to set Paris in an uproar, I

need only have made public two or three documents contained in those archives, as some men wished to do who do not see beyond their noses.

I issued the most strict orders that no one should be allowed to touch the archives. The numerous denunciations which had been made since 1830 had roused the indignation of many citizens. Accusations and the disgraceful title of spy were suspended over many who had borne a part in the Republican movement. It was important to ascertain the names of the authors of these informations, who, keeping the Government always *au courant* of our projects, enabled it to thwart them.

It was also necessary to tear off the mask from the ex-agents and instigators, and make an example of the traitors employed against us by the power we had overthrown.

I had the christian and surnames taken of all who applied to serve in the secret police. I found the names and the pass-words of two hundred agents belonging to every class of society, from the noble to the galley-slave. All of them strengthened their applications by pro-

fessing a concern for the public welfare, and boasted of their excellent station in society, or of some position of a nature to obtain for them the public confidence. I had a list made of all their names, and it is in safe keeping.

By other means I learnt the names of the agents in the secret pay of the different ministers, and in some instances I made use of those men to procure information of what was going on in the higher ranks of society.

In the midst of these reports, addressed by different spies of the police, there was one voluminous folio, the dates of which went back to 1838. More than one thousand informations signed "Pierre," commencing from the affair of May, revealed every act, great or small, relative to the Republican party.

The informations were exact, everything was passed in review,—the army, the press, the secret societies. The character and habits of the men informed against were given with the most perfidious nicety. The miserable being had not spared his own friends; and those who rendered him services were the first denounced. He had succeeded in insinuating himself into

the very heart of the secret societies, and as member of the committee, he was *au courant* of everything that took place. A contributor to the *Charivari* and to the *Réforme*, he was in the secret of all the intentions of the opposition press, and he sold their secrets to our enemies.

Lucien Delahodde, for we must speak of him by name, never gained my sympathies. But I was often thrown in his company. I even passed a portion of the days of February with him. On the 23rd of February we had to decide on some central point of insurrection; the Carré St. Martin, branching out from thence to the different *quartiers* where our men were placed, was selected. I remember well, that in the evening he proposed to establish our head quarters on the *Place des Chevaliers du Guet*, where we could have been more easily surrounded and massacred. However, to avoid creating suspicion, he agreed to our rendezvous, and was to meet us there at the hour appointed.

On the following day at noon I repaired to the spot, accompanied by Albert, Commandant Vallier, and other Republicans, but we had scarcely left the Rue Grenetat to enter the Rue

St. Martin when we were suddenly fired upon by a detachment, and the man at my side fell dead. On turning round I perceived another detachment, about one hundred yards off, which also fired a volley. The whole quarter was surrounded by the Municipal Guard.

Perceiving at once that we had been betrayed, Albert and myself endeavoured to make good our retreat by the Rue Grenetat, when we saw another division of Municipal Guards advancing towards us. We hardly had time to rush down the alley of the Café Marchetti, which we had scarcely entered when we heard the balls rattling against the door, soon followed by the blows of the butt ends of the muskets of the guards. We little thought then, either of us, that on the following day we should both of us be members of a new Government. In half an hour the Municipal Guards withdrew, and we were enabled to join our friends.

Delahodde did not make his appearance at the Carré St. Martin. When he came on the following day to make an offer of his services to me at the Préfecture, he said that he had taken a different road, and that like ourselves

he had been prevented from reaching the appointed spot. He then very coolly took his place at the desk of the Secretary-General Pinel, who had fled. Thus I had given welcome to a miserable wretch, who, for ten years, was in the secret pay of our enemies. Nay, more, he was in a position of confidence, which, sooner or later, would have enabled him to destroy all traces of his infamy.

Three or four days after the discovery of the folio in question, I identified the handwriting of Pierre with that of Delahodde. I was convinced of his guilt at once, when what should turn up but the following letter, beautifully signed, with address, date, and all his oaths.

"To Monsieur le Prefet de Police.

"I have the honour to request admission into the administration you direct.

"I am a native of Wimille, near Boulogne-sur-Mer, in the department of the Pas de Calais, and my family is well known in the county. My father and many of my relations are electors. Since the revolution many of

them refused to take a share in the balloting; but proceedings, in which I bore a principal part, made them better appreciate the importance of their electoral rights, and I doubt not, that, in the coming election, they will make use of them in favour of the candidate who solicits their vote, and who in every respect is so worthy of it.

"It was my intention, on arriving at Paris, to turn my thoughts to literature, and even now I write occasionally in *La Presse;* but the profits arising from my pen being too small, and my own resources insufficient, I feel myself under the necessity of throwing up my literary career, or, at any rate, of making it only a secondary occupation.

"The department I should prefer, M. le Préfet, in your administration, would be that of the secret police. It would suit my character and my active mind, and the prejudices against such an occupation have no weight with me; for I believe that every profession has its morality, and I do not think ill of that of which the object is to ensure the tranquillity of the country, and the citizens cannot be wrongly

esteemed by wise men, who only look at the end and not the means.

"Like many young men, I have been the victim of that political exaltation which so sadly signalized the first years of the Revolution of July. In 1832 I was introduced to the society of the Droits de l'Homme. Shortly afterwards I entered the army as a volunteer; I entered the 38th regiment of the line, and I acquired a certain celebrity by having represented at the theatre of Soissons, a play in which there were political allusions, an act which my superior officers punished very severely. I was afterwards brought to trial at Laon, but I must protest, that the political charges brought against me were without foundation. The verdict of the jury moreover proved it. The sort of reputation I acquired from these two circumstances, placed me in connexion with the principal leaders of the Republican party; I was looked upon as all powerful in the regiment, and M. Marrast, of the *Tribune*, endeavoured at various times to persuade me to attempt a demonstration, which he said would shake the whole army.

"I left the army in 1835, and passed one year at Paris studying the law. At this period I

was made a member of the *Société des Familles*, about which I could give some information if required. I then returned home, and it was then that it struck me that I had too long allowed myself to be the instrument of men, most of whom were ambitious, or of disappointed expectations, and the remainder men who had run wild, and wished to induce others to follow their example,—and I foreswore the principles of blood and destruction which once I had the folly to adopt. Daily contact with men of the world and my own experience, have since dissipated many of my youthful illusions, and it is because of this rapid descent from belief in appearances, that I shall be enabled to shake off from the employment that I solicit those prejudices that surround it.

"I must confess, Monsieur le Préfet, that I look to your kindness for the success of my application, and more upon my ardent desire to be of service than on the real claims I have to offer. M. Boutmy, who is well acquainted with me, undertook to present you with a sketch of my life, as also to say a few words in my favour. I trust that he has done so, and that the details I have just submitted to you, are

already in part known to you. M. François Delessert, to whom I had the honour to write some time back on the subject of his election, has made inquiries concerning me, which I believe were not unfavourable. If you think it advisable, and will deign to take that trouble, it is in his power to give you the necessary information.

"I conclude, Monsieur le Préfet, by asking your pardon for having said so much about myself, and by appealing to your kindness to take my request into consideration.

"I have the honour to be with respect, Monsieur le Préfet, your very humble and very obedient servant,

(Signed) "L. DELAHODDE,
"Rue Coquenard, 9.

"Paris, 25th March, 1838."

I made Monier acquainted with the affair, an old friend of mine, of twenty years' standing, on whom I could rely, and whom I afterwards made secretary-general, as a recompense for his intelligence and zeal. He wrote to some of the patriots, whose names figured in the informations, to meet him at nine o'clock the

following day at the Luxembourg, and I wrote to Albert, who lent us his room, not knowing for what it was required.

I did not wish Delahodde to be tried at the Préfecture, where the Montagnards would have torn him to pieces, if they got wind of what had occurred, and it would have been said that we murdered him out of a fear of his disclosures.

He dined at my table, as did some other secretaries and extra employés. He sat opposite to me, and I was constrained to gulp down my indignation. I could not have stood this long, and immediately after dinner I told him we were to meet at Albert's rooms to discuss some serious business. We left together, and as we walked along he vaunted his ability to fill the office of chief secretary.

We arrived at last at Albert's rooms, where I had taken the precaution to forward all the proofs of his guilt. Including Delahodde there were sixteen persons present. The sitting at once became solemn; Grandmesnil took the chair, and I explained the object of the meeting.

Delahodde, not being aware that we had

proofs, commenced by reminding us of his republican principles for the last seventeen years. On bringing forward some of his reports he still denied his guilt, and demanded that his handwriting should be proved.

The exasperation of all present having reached a climax, they thundered forth proof after proof against him, and read the original letter given above. The accused then confessed his guilt, and declared that in a moment of despair he threw himself into the arms of the police; that he made reports, but that he was never *un agent provocateur*, or provocating agent, and that he could not reproach himself with the arrest of a single republican. Some of his former friends, present at this dramatic scene, requested him to blow his brains out. He contented himself with writing the following letter.

"I declare that all the reports signed Pierre, were written by me.

"L. DELAHODDE.

"Paris, this 14th March, 1848."

A *procès-verbal* of the meeting was made on

the spot, and signed by G. Grandmesnil, Tiphaine, Monier, Boguet, Pilhes, Lechallier, Bergeron, Louchet, Albert, Caillaud, Ch. Rouvenat, Mercier, Caussidière, and—*Chenu*. The signature of the latter was scarcely legible.

Delahodde was immediately taken to the Préfecture, and from thence locked up at the Conciergerie, in solitary confinement, for having, after the 24th February, kept up a correspondence with the agents of the fallen Government.

A few days after I left the Préfecture, he was set at liberty by an ordonnance of *non lieu!* He at once left for London, where he attacks the Republic and the Republicans in a little journal. This new trade, worthy of his antecedents, will doubtless in the end entail upon him the due reward of his misdeeds.

A few days afterwards, different spies were pointed out to me, amongst others M. Chenu. He had managed to slip into the ranks of the Montagnards, whom I wished to preserve as pure as possible. I had him up before me in the presence of Captain Morisset only. I told him I was convinced he had acted a most in-

famous part toward his comrades, which he commenced by denying. "I am sure of what I say," I added; "and, as you refuse to confess I will hand you over to my Montagnards, who will decide upon your fate."

He then confessed that M. Pinel had taken advantage of his position as a deserter to tie him hand and foot, and make not only a spy of him but an *agent provocateur* of the republicans. He did not say, however, that he had been forgiven eight years of hard labour at the galleys for desertion and theft. He promised, if means were given him, to proceed to Belgium, to work at his trade of a cobbler, and to turn honest. He blubbered, and repeated the same pantomime as his colleague Delahodde, at whose trial he was present. Morisset undertook to see him off. But a few days afterwards I was told he had returned, and that he uttered threats of vengeance against me. I was obliged to order his arrest. On being locked up, he gave M. Allard, the head of the Police of Safety, the names of many of his fraternity, made excuses for having returned from Belgium on the grounds of being without the means of procuring food, and entreated

permission to accompany the expedition into Germany, promising never to show his face again in Paris.

"He is a sad and dangerous villain," said M. Allard to me; "get rid of him." "Let him go to the devil," I replied; "but don't let me hear of him again!"

In fact he did go to Germany, but he returned to calumniate and denounce again. Thus the *bouquet* of the report of the Commission of Inquiry is nothing more nor less than the deposition of a galley slave, of an *agent provocateur*, who led astray many a poor devil into illegal acts; amongst others into the hand-grenade business, which cost some of them many years of imprisonment. Emulating his colleague Delahodde, he selected his victims out of those who had done him acts of kindness, and he made an attempt to murder one of his friends named Javelot.

I have in my possession a *procès-verbal*, signed by eleven witnesses, stating that Chenu had declared that he made denunciations to revenge himself upon Grandmesnil and myself, who had exposed him, and laid his character open to the public. At this very moment

Chenu is in the enjoyment of his liberty, and congratulates himself in comfort on the result of his denunciations.

If I dwell upon all these facts, it is to point out to the working-classes how guarded they must be, and of what great importance it is to them to ascertain the moral worth of those who seek to lead them into the path of danger. At this time spies and informers are the order of the day. An efficacious police is necessary, no doubt; but a police which incites to insubordination only to apprehend the offender, bears a stamp which dishonours those who make use of it. It is indispensable that the ruling powers should know what is going on around them; but let them not get up conspiracies. This system succeeded at times, it is true, under the fallen monarchy, and it has obtained repressive laws. Will the Government of the Republic in its turn make use of such infamous means to stifle liberty?

CHAPTER VIII.

The right of assembling—The clubs—The popular Republic—Socialism—The tribunes of the Faubourgs—Commission established to watch the proceedings of the Government—Sobrier's club—The revolutionary commission—Club des Clubs—Clubs des Droits et des Devoirs—Central Republican Society—Club de la Révolution—Société des Droits de l'Homme—Barbès, Raspail, Cabet, Sobrier, Blanqui—Clubs St. Antoine—Influence of the clubs of the people—The clubs of the aristocracy—An insidious question—Do you wish for a monarchy?—*Mourir pour la République!*—The ministers of the present and of the past—The plebeian press: *Le Représentant du Peuple* of Proudhon, the *Vraie République* of Thoré, *L'Ami du People* of Raspail, *Le Commune de Paris* of Sobrier and Cahaigne, *Le Populaire* of Cabet—*Le Père Duchesne*—The Napoleonist journals—The Royalist journals: *L'Assemblée Nationale*, *La Liberté*—*La Presse* and M. de Girardin—*Le Constitutionnel*, *La Patrie*, *Le Journal des Debats*—*Le National* and *La Réforme*—The Counter-revolution.

ONE of the causes of the movement of February, was the *droit de réunion*, or right of assembling. The citizens wishing to commu-

nicate with each other, resolved unanimously to establish political clubs. After March, Paris swarmed with clubs of every shade of politics. The royalists, however, thought it prudent to wait a little, before bringing themselves under public notice.

The first clubs, established by men of the barricades, were consequently all of them the expression of the popular Republic. The Revolution and socialism reigned supreme.

Successively every class of citizens, every corporation—in a word, all who had common interests to move them—formed themselves into associations; for instance, the wounded of February, the political prisoners, the decorated of July, the old soldiers, the artists, the men of letters, the citizens of the same department, and foreign refugees, &c. The members of the late electoral committees, the patriots of each arrondissement of Paris, formed *cercles de réunion* and of propagandism. The different *corps d'Etat*, workmen of every trade, formed themselves into societies; finally, the people, who, in the faubourgs especially, were excellent republicans, held their meetings, where Liberty,

Equality, and Fraternity, were often illustrated by genuine bursts of eloquence.

Almost at the same time, the committee established to watch the acts of the Government, and the honesty of its functionaries, the Club des Droits et des Devoirs, La Société Républicaine Centrale, La Société des Droits de l'Homme, and some other clubs, manifested the character of the revolution.

The committee established for the surveillance of the Government, whose white placards made such a great display on the walls of Paris, was the origin of the Club of Sobrier, of the Club de la Révolution, of the Commité Révotionaire, and of the Club des Clubs.

The Club des Droits et des Devoirs, which held its first sitting on the 2nd of March, at the Ecole de Médecine, at the instance of the Préfecture of Police, with Grandmesnil in the chair, co-operated at a later period with the Société des Droits de l'Homme, and other clubs of the *quartier Latin.*

La Société Republicaine Centrale, founded by Blanqui, immediately on his return to Paris, published as soon as the 6th of March, an

address to the Provisional Government. Its bureau consisted at that time of Blanqui, Xavier Durrieu, editor of the *Courrier Français*, Raisan, and many others who soon left it.

The Club de la Révolution elected Barbès its President, and Thoré was made Secretary, the other members being Pierre Leroux, Proudhon, Bac, Etienne Arago, and other representatives of the people.

Cabet and Raspail presided over their respective clubs, which were numerously attended.

The well-organized and numerously attended Société des Droits de l'Homme, and those clubs of Barbès, Sobrier, Raspail, Cabet, and Blanqui, assumed at once a great importance, and they constantly stood prominent in all the movements of the first months of the Revolution, as also some dozen other clubs of the *quartier* St. Antoine, Popincourt, and of the Banlieue.

The influence of the popular clubs on public opinion was immense; as also on the elections of the National Guards, and of the Constituent Assembly.

In addition to the clubs already enumerated there were hundreds of others in every *quartier*

of Paris. The public buildings were given up by the authorities, the concert and other assembly rooms, unoccupied shops and warehouses, and dwelling-houses were turned into club-houses, where the spirit of the people was enlightened by animated and original debates, and where their enthusiasm glowed for the great Republic so recently achieved.

The number of the clubs soon exceeded three hundred, and their titles alone would form a curious document. Every political term, all the *souvenirs* of the old Revolution, were employed as watch-words, which were often deceptive enough. There were aristocratic clubs which styled themselves clubs of Fraternity and Equality!

The former National Guards especially endeavoured to form parties in the different legions to strive against the popular influence; and in certain clubs of the Bourgeois, under the pretext of a national sovereignty, the restoration of royalty was hypocritically suggested.

It was in these reactionary clubs that the *mot d'ordre* was given to put the following insidious question:—"If the Constituent As-

sembly reinstated royalty, how would you act?" to the candidates for the Constituent Assembly, and to the officers of the National Guard—a question which greatly puzzled many naïve orators amongst them.

And if a republican replied that he would die for the Republic, the Bourgeois did not fail to put the question to the vote by universal suffrage, which they had opposed for seventeen years, and to appeal to the inviolability of a sovereign assembly. The royalists already pondered upon stifling the revolution with the instruments of that revolution itself. They calculated—and the result has proved that their calculations were just—that the Bourgeoisie, still all-powerful in most of the provinces, would mislead the populations of the small towns and of the country, and that all their leaders would find themselves in great strength at the Constituent Assembly.

To-day, when France is given up to the men of the old *régime*, when the ministries are occupied by the ministers of Louis Philippe; to-day, when we are "within sight of the ports of monarchy," to quote the words of the pro-

clamation of the deputies of the extreme left, the real republicans might in their turn put these questions to the people:—"Do you wish for the monarchy and the old *régime?* Do you wish to see the Republic effaced?"

We have no clubs now; we have not, alas! any liberty to reply as we ought to reply to MM. Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Dufaure, and Vivien, who are bringing about a new restoration.

With the clubs a plebeian press sprang into life on the morrow of the barricades. Lamennais published *Le Peuple Constituant;* Proudhon, *Le Représentant du Peuple;* Thoré, *La Vraie République*, with Barbès, Pierre Leroux, and George Sand for contributors; Raspail, *l'Ami du Peuple;* Sobrier and Cahaigne, *La Commune de Paris;* Cabet continued *Le Populaire; Le Père Duchesne* followed.

These were the only republican journals that attained celebrity and popularity, and which have left some traces behind them in the movement of the revolution.

There were, however, many others of every description, of every shade of opinion, and of

every size. Most of them fell to the ground after a few numbers, some for want of funds, most of them from want of talent. Many of them were speculations in the hope of gain, others feeble attempts to uphold ridiculous, ambitious or insensate projects. All of them proclaimed themselves Republicans. A little later, a swarm of Napoleonist journals made their appearance, but they were soon either looked upon with indifference or forgotten altogether.

The royalists, like the rest, took advantage of this moment of liberty, when the press (free of stamp-duty) caution money, and judicial inquiry, relied solely on public opinion. Shortly after February the *bourgeoisie* had wrought so well against the revolution, that the *Assemblée Nationale* and *La Liberté* reached a daily circulation of more than forty thousand. Of the popular journals, *La Vraie République* and *Le Père Duchesne* alone reached that number.

But the journal which, thanks to the skill of an active editorship, was most widely circulated in Paris, was *La Presse* of M. de Girardin. It will be remembered what a violent onslaught

he made upon the revolution, with such perfidious logic and foresight attacking the Republic through the false republicans, and making it responsible for the vices of an incapable or traitorous Government. The circulation of *La Presse* reached seventy-five thousand copies a-day.

At the same time, *Le Constitutionnel*, *Le Siècle*, *La Patrie*, and the *Journal des Débats*, which, at first struck dumb with terror, had observed a prudent silence, soon regained courage on beholding the revolution compromised by the Provisional Government and its agents.

The *National* and the *Réforme*, whose editors held the reins of power, had become ministerial, the latter, however, still preserving its independence and the energetic spirit of the Republic, the former disgracing itself then and afterwards by a servility scarcely equalled by the *Journal des Débats*, whether under the restoration or Louis-Philippe.

In the press, as in the clubs, the revolutionary and the conservative factions were astir with equal energy. But during these

days of enthusiasm and civic greatness, the people were still masters of the common country, and its very enemies themselves had not the audacity to hope for so speedy and so melancholy a counter-revolution.

CHAPTER IX.

The 16th March — Protest of the *bonnets à poil* — 6,000 Grenadiers and Voltigeurs—MM. Marrast and Arago—The Lion-tamers—The *Journée des Manchons*—The people and the Sun—The Luxembourg and the Clubs—The 17th March—The Champs Elysées—Procession of the people—From the Louvre to the Hôtel de Ville—Address to the Provisional Government—Sending away of the troops—Adjournment of the elections—Intrigues of the Royalists—Mistake of the people and fault of the Government—The condemned of February—Republicans necessary to constitute a Republic—Attitude of the people—Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin — Cabet and Sobrier—Not to all!—Grandiloquent language of Lamartine—Promises and avowals—No more troops at Paris—The eighteenth Brumaire of the people—The Minister of the Interior—Majesty of the Sovereign—General Courtais—Two hundred thousand brothers—The Column of the Republic—Social war—The eighteenth Brumaire of despotism—*Coups d'état* and *coups de sabre*—The Commission of Inquiry—The Dictatorship and the state of siege.

On the 16th of March, for the first time since the revolution, the two elements that divided Paris were openly opposed to each other.

A circumstance, of little significance in itself, having occasioned a counter-revolutionary protest, which was suppressed by the people, the result was that on the day following, a body of 200,000 men made a pacific demonstration, by proceeding to the Hôtel de Ville, to proclaim again the democratic and social Republic.

The Provisional Government, by a decree of the 14th of March, had abolished all distinctive signs in the select companies of National Guards. From that day the grenadiers and the voltigeurs were to relinquish the *bonnet à poil*, or bearskin helmet; and all the companies were to be dressed alike, without distinction of rank or privilege. This decree caused the privileged companies to murmur. The 1st and 2nd Legion especially, and some companies of the Banlieue, manifested great irritation. Five or six thousand National Guards met in consequence, on the 16th of March, and proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, to require the Provisional Government to withdraw the decree issued in favour of equality.

This small column, hostile to the Revolution, was stopped by the people two or three times,

on its march, and on arriving in front of the Hôtel de Ville, it found the square densely thronged by workmen and young men. Words, and even blows were exchanged. The *bonnets à poil* could not obtain admission to the Government, and it was with great difficulty that some of their deputation succeeded in gaining entrance to the Hôtel.

They were received by MM. Marrast and Arago, to whom they made their complaint, with violent invectives against M. Ledru-Rollin. M. Marrast replied that the object of the Government was unity and fraternity between all citizens, and to establish the principle of Republican equality. M. Arago added, that this proceeding on the part of the conservators of privileges, would have the "*regrettable result*" of provoking a demonstration of the working classes, and that they should not arouse the lion, which those three men of the Hôtel de Ville wished to lull asleep.

On the next day the Provisional Government completely changed its tone. That "regrettable result," so much feared by M. Arago the evening before, had become "an important and

magnificent manifestation;" for it had consolidated the power of those who were then looked upon as the representatives of the Revolution.

I had been informed of the step projected by the *méneurs* of the select companies, and had notified to the Minister of the Interior, on whom they seemed to attach the responsibility of the decree against privileges, more than on his colleagues. The only measure of precaution I took was, to send a detachment of Montagnards, without their arms, to the neighbourhood of the Hôtel de Ville. The rest of my troops were kept ready for action at the Préfecture. I did not fear an attack upon the Government, but a conflict between the National Guards and the people.

All however passed over peaceably enough, and with the exception of a few cuffs, order was maintained.

This expedition of the 16th of March was nicknamed *la journée des Manchons*.

But towards evening a great commotion was visible amongst the people, who wished to make an immediate and practical reply by a general

demonstration. From all sides I was waited upon for my advice and assistance.

"It is in broad day-light," I said to them, "that a free people should testify its adhesion to the acts of its Government. Let one hundred thousand of you meet to-morrow before noon on the Place de la Concorde; and come in an orderly manner to proclaim your attachment to Republican institutions. This great but pacific step will at once annihilate the enemies of equality."

I added, that equally as I should oppose any demonstration by night, so equally was I ready to favour that which I announced for the morrow.

It was therefore resolved that every means should be employed to calm the excitement of the people that night, and that on the next day they should meet on the Place de la Concorde.

I immediately sent special messengers into the different *quartiers* of Paris, and of the Banlieue, to announce that on the 17th of March the people were to proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, to congratulate the Provisional Govern-

ment on the decree it had promulgated, and to promise it support whenever its efforts tended to promote democratic institutions.

The Luxembourg on its side, and the clubs of the people, advised the workmen of what was about to take place, and every class of the citizens of the revolution was thus made acquainted with what was to be done on the morrow.

On the 17th of March, at 9 in the morning, the great avenue of the Champs Elysées began to fill with living myriads, and a mighty column was formed, in the most perfect order, which stretched from the Arc de Triomphe, to the Chevaux de Marly.

Each corporation and each club were preceded by their standard, bearing an appropriate inscription.

Before twelve, the immense procession crossed the Place de la Concorde, and filed off along the quays in the direction of the Hôtel de Ville. When the foremost ranks arrived in the square before the Hôtel de Ville, the last ranks were at the Louvre, and new phalanxes continued

streaming from every side to join this patriotic army which silently filled the square.

During the triumphal march of the people, I received every moment reports that tranquillity prevailed. I had requested some of my friends, and a certain number of Montagnards, to place themselves at the head of the cortège, so as, if necessary, to form a sure and devoted body-guard to the Government.

I was convinced that no man could be so mad as to attempt to cause disorder in a meeting inspired by such universal enthusiasm; nevertheless, I wished to be free of all anxiety as to the results of the day's proceedings.

A deputation of some forty delegates of the corporations and of the clubs was admitted to an audience of the Provisional Government, and a citizen read aloud an address, in which, after protesting against the menacing manifestation of the grenadiers on the previous day, they requested that the troops that had been recalled should be ordered out of Paris, and that the elections for the National Assembly should be adjourned till the 31st May.

For, at the same time that the people expressed their revolutionary ardour and sympathy for the Government of February, they felt some anxiety on account of the dissensions which were known to exist amongst the members of the commission, and they apprehended the intrigues of the royalists in every part of France. They thought that, by adjourning the elections for a time, the republican sentiment would have time to strike deeper root, that the composition of the National Assembly would acquire an access of energy, and that the Assembly itself, when constituted, would respond better to the exigencies of the situation.

It was a mistake of the people, who, to be sure, little expected to see the revolution so perfidiously thwarted and perverted by the majority of the very men who had been entrusted with its defence. The Government also, by proroguing the elections, committed a grave error. The conservatives derived greater advantage from this step than the popular party, and the men condemned by February reappeared almost to a man to constitute a republic to which they had always been opposed. The

result has but too well proved that to establish a republic, republicans are necessary.

The Government was very much embarrassed by the attitude assumed by the people, and requested time to deliberate on their propositions, which they would do in council only. The true representatives of the people addressed the people on this occasion. Louis Blanc, especially, showed great dignity and true eloquence. He declared that it was the decided wish of the Provisional Government to go hand in hand with the people, to live for them, and if necessary, to die for them! His address was interrupted by bursts of applause; but at the request of some members of the clubs, Ledru Rollin added, that he had consulted the commissioners of the departments, and that he awaited the reply of France, and that the solemn and definitive establishment of the Republic proclaimed on the barricades was at stake. These words, warm from the heart, excited anew the approbation of the people. Cabet and Sobrier then implored the Government to watch over the public welfare; and as the latter proclaimed the confidence of the

people in the provisional dictators,—"*Not in all!*"—exclaimed a voice from the multitude.

Those words are quite characteristic of the movement of the 17th March, which was purely revolutionary and republican.

Another delegate put an interrogatory to M. Lamartine. M. Lamartine replied obscurely enough, in his grandiloquent style. He dwelt especially upon the dismissal of the troops, assuring his hearers that there were no troops in Paris, and that they had never even dreamt of recalling them to the capital.

"The Government," he said, "would be out of its senses after what has occurred, when fallen royalty has beheld 80,000 men dissolve like air before the unarmed citizens of Paris, to think of awing you by a few scattered battalions animated by the same spirit of republicanism, and to impose upon you a will hostile to your own and to their independence; we have not thought, we never will think of it. The Republic wishes for no other defender from within than the armed people. That is the truth. Tell it to them."

And yet it was M. Lamartine, who, shortly

afterwards, as he declared before the Commission of Inquiry, did all in his power to effect the return of the troops to Paris, that he might oppose them to the republican people.

Sharing the aversion of M. Arago to popular manifestations, M. Lamartine concluded as follows:—

"Beware of assemblages of this description, however beautiful they may be. The 18th Brumaire of the people might bring on, against its will, the 18th Brumaire of despotism."

The deputation withdrew. The workmen assembled in the square, and demanded that the Government should appear on the steps of the Hôtel de Ville. Their appearance was hailed with renewed acclamations, and Louis Blanc again addressed the multitude; for in these first revolutionary days, there were two men, who have since been continually attacked by their colleagues, were always thrust forward when it was necessary to calm the people and shield the Provisional Government.

The column of workmen filed off during two hours, taking the direction of the Bastille.

A body of workmen, about ten thousand

strong, proceeded to the Ministry of the Interior, where M. Ledru Rollin endeavoured to cause them to look with complacency upon the army, which was in fact already returning, by small detachments at a time, to the capital, for the protection and satisfaction of the conservatives.

On the following day the Provisional Government prorogued the elections of the National Guard, which implied also the prorogation of the elections of the Constituent Assembly. It eluded altogether the question of the army. The following passage was remarked in the proclamation :—

"The Provisional Government feels it to be its duty to thank you for the noble spectacle of the magnificent demonstration you made yesterday.

" Proclaimed, as it were, under the fire of the conflict, and in the very moment of victory, the Provisional Government beheld its powers confirmed yesterday by two hundred thousand citizens, organized like an army, marching with the calm confidence of power, and who by their acclamations have added to our temporary

authority, the moral force and the majesty of a sovereign power.

"People of Paris, in this manifestation, so regular and so well organized, you have shown yourselves as great as when you gave proofs of courage on your barricades!"

On his part, the Commander-in-chief of Paris congratulated the people in an order of the day.

"Citizens,

"You have risen to celebrate the triumph of the Republic. This spontaneous demonstration, this burst of enthusiasm, inspired by a love of your country, honours you and honours France.

"What other country in the world could present the spectacle of two hundred thousand men, united like two hundred thousand brothers, marching with greater dignity in the assurance of their independence? This is truly the majesty of the people!

"In the midst of your patriotic songs you called for arms! To what hands more worthy of bearing them could they be intrusted? You

shall have arms! The National Guard thus augmented will become the strongest pillar of our young Republic."

Alas! who more promptly sowed dissension in the population of Paris for the purpose of goading the citizens into a fratricidal war?

Where is the Samson that shook this column of the democratic temple?

In less than three months this majestic people, which was an honour to France, was forcibly driven back to misery, and given a prey to the military. Despotism *has* "had its 18th Brumaire," to quote the expression of M. Lamartine. But the *coups d'etat* and the *coups de sabre*, which inflict wounds on justice, have not, for all that, annihilated the future.

The Commission of Inquiry accused me of having taken an active part in the events of the 17th March. Far from denying my co-operation in that popular demonstration, I glory in having done so; first, because of its results, and again, because the people assembled in a body are always great and generous.

Their only vengeance, on the 17th March, was to give a second proof of their fraternal

unity and of their power, which some had begun to doubt.

If an attempt had been made to suppress the movement, divers and sanguinary collisions would have been the result in France; the suppression of the sense of right and justice can never be attempted with impunity. Truth and justice will, sooner or later, by a violent reaction rise to the surface under the very hand of the oppressors.

What do you think to-day of the dictatorship of the military commissions and of the state of siege?

CHAPTER X.

Union and Fraternity—*Le droit de la blouse*—The Marseillaise of Mdlle. Rachel—Gratuitous representations—The song of the Girondins—Trees of Liberty at the Préfecture of Police, the Opera, &c.—The orchestra and the clergy. Speeches of Ledru Rollin and Caussidière. — After the Gironde, the Montagne.—No more acts of violence.—One murder in three months—Statistical return of thefts—The Safety Brigade—M. Allard and M. Eloin—Thieves and receivers of stolen goods—Arrest of a galley-slave—Robbery of a jeweller by himself—Secret gambling-houses—License and debauchery in Paris—The Hôtels *garnis*—Strangers at Paris—Commerce and the alarmists—Torch-light processions—*Des Lampions*—The Holy-week and the Montagnards—Solicitude of the Préfecture.

NOTWITHSTANDING the recent shocks, notwithstanding the uncertainties and divisions of the Government at the Hôtel de Ville, there were still hopes that a spirit of union and fraternity would put down the popular agitation.

The *bourgeoisie* seemed inclined to make

concessions to the "*droit de la blouse.*" Evil passions were on the decrease. Paris had a certain festive air about it; some of the theatres presented patriotic plays; the song of the Marseillaise repeated night after night at the *Théatre National,* by the energetic talent of Mademoiselle Rachel, excited a holy enthusiasm. The people were invited as guests to behold the master-pieces of Corneille and of Voltaire. It may be said that never did the *Théatre National* boast of a more attentive or better-conducted audience. It was the least that could be done to mitigate their sufferings by a few hours of honest and elevating amusement.

The song of the *Girondins* blending with the *Chant des Montagnards,* was like the prophetic announcement of a fusion of all interests, of all shades of opinion, which in its action was to destaoy for long years to come, all feelings of hatred and enmity.

Paris breathed freely. Trees of liberty were planted in every district. The *bourgeoisie,* the National Guard, and the workmen, figured in these processions. The clergy were

always invited to attend, and speak words of peace and of conciliation. Bands of military music and choral singers added to the splendor of these popular ceremonies. It seemed as if the tree of liberty was never more to be sprinkled with blood.

Sad illusions, too soon destroyed! The Préfecture of Police inaugurated one of the first trees of liberty. My speech to the enthusiastic multitude that crowded around me, if not spoken in set phrases and choice sentences, came directly from my heart. Like the priest of the Redeemer, I also preached fraternity, that I might assure them that the Préfecture, formerly a place of terror to the people, was henceforth the sanctuary of permanent justice, and could in future inspire fear only in those who should break the laws of the land. The most ardent indications of sympathy, the deepest emotion and promises of fraternity, hailed my words. Those men of the barricades swore, with tears in their eyes, to contribute towards the police of conciliation I was endeavouring to establish, and they encouraged me in the fulfilment of the duties

imposed upon me by my sense of duty and the public exigencies.

A few days afterwards I was invited to attend with a detachment of Montagnards the planting of a tree of liberty in the court-yard of the Opera House. The orchestra and choruses of this theatre were assembled, and performed various patriotic airs during the ceremony. The clergy had been invited to bestow their blessing upon the tree. A numerous and brilliant company, grouped in the windows of the surrounding houses, formed a rich frame to the scene in the court-yard. A portion of the enclosure was occupied by a detachment of National Guards and my Montagnards, who had made themselves a little less warlike in appearance than usual.

Ledru Rollin, at that time Minister of the Interior, made a speech in praise of the arts, and on the necessity of their co-operating in the work of the Republic, a speech which was loudly applauded, and followed by the chorus of the Girondins.

Desirous of addressing the assembly likewise, I did so, and commenced as follows:—

"*Après la Gironde, la Montagne;*" "After the Gironde, the Mountain." I pointed out what best beseemed a republican nation; I showed them that the loyal co-operation of all classes was indispensable; I reminded the wealthy of the day upon which they would hold out a fraternal and not wave a scornful hand to the disinherited of society, and by so doing prove that they were worthy of the favours of fortune; at the same time, I added, "the people must not attempt to extort by violence the co-operation of the rich; the aristocracy of strength being the worst of all aristocracies." This *exposé* of republican sentiments in the presence of many who had only an imperfect idea of them, produced a good effect.

The capital had meantime resumed its ordinary tranquil aspect. The streets were safe at night, and during the space of three months I had only to record one murder, which was committed at the door of a house of ill fame. Cases of robbery were rare, and from statistical returns published at the time, a great reduction was visible, in comparison with preceding periods. It must not be supposed, however,

that the thieves walked about with their hands in their pockets because the Republic had been proclaimed.

In accordance with my instructions, M. Allard had doubled the number of his safety brigade, and had his active and intelligent men constantly on the track of evil doers. I had increased the pay of the brigade of M. Eloin, the head of the Municipal Police.

Safety brigades render great service when properly directed. They know the haunts of thieves, who are invariably and fatally attracted back to the same place. The attention of the police should always be especially directed towards the destruction of the associations of thieves, as also to another dangerous class, the receivers of stolen goods, who, under the mask of fair trading, purchase the spoil, and are thus the accomplices and instigators of theft. In the proportion of eight out of ten, the arrests were made by the safety brigades. In the first fortnight of March, a *razzia* of escaped galley-slaves was made, and of dangerous vagabonds who had designs on foot to plunder private property. A certain Michelot, who acted the

part of a furious democrat in the clubs of Paris, was recognized and arrested by an agent. He had effected his escape from the galleys, and the police had long been on the look-out for him. He was returned to the galleys. This Michelot had recently come over from England, where he had been residing for some time, and where he had assumed a certain importance. He was member of some political societies in London, and had affixed his name among those of some honourable citizens to addresses to the Provisional Government of France.

The chiefs and agents of the public safety, thus made aware of my perseverance, redoubled their zeal, and besides these the Montagnards, made the fulfilment of their duty a point of honour, and by their alacrity they prevented numerous disorders.

At times, hostile or misinformed journals attacked most unjustly the *surveillance* of the police;—for instance, on the following occasion:—

A jeweller informed the Commissioner of Police of the *quartier* St. Honoré, that he had been robbed to a considerable amount in plate

and jewels. He estimated his loss at 30,000 francs. He said the thieves must have entered his shop during the night, and he pointed out an iron bar which had been very neatly sawn through. M. Allard and myself having examined this alleged poof of robbery, we were both of us convinced that the proprietor of the shop could alone have done the work so neatly. In fact, he at length confessed, that to conceal the bad state of his affairs he had robbed himself and hidden his property in a hay-loft, where it was found by the police.

The journals were obliged to acknowledge that on this occasion, as on many others, the police gave proofs of great sagacity.

As it was my constant aim to vindicate and secure the morality of the Republic, I put down crime and disorder under whatever shape it appeared. The clandestine gambling-houses had hoped to take advantage of the revolution to carry on their illicit operations. I had a number of the proprietors of such establishments arrested and put in prison.

I held also frequent conferences with M. Farou, who had the superintendence of the

dispensaries and of the abandoned women. After the days of February their license knew no bounds. It was necessary to enforce the regulations respecting them.

In the months of February and March, the cases of disease, the inevitable result of a relaxation of inspection, were much more numerous than in April and May. M. Denis, the head surgeon of the dispensary, informed me that the average number of cases was 1 in 280. This is a low average, if compared with the returns for July and August. This proves that after I had left, the police authorities were less careful of the public health.

I shall not dwell further on a subject that should be effaced altogether from civilized society. I shall only add, that to diminish as much as possible the fearful results of the actual state of things, the police ought to take active measures to prevent profligacy, by placing certain establishments under the sanction of the laws, and submitting them to regular and strict inspection. By these means they would put a check to private profligacy, which is the most dangerous of all. They should also prevent

the appearance of unfortunate creatures in certain parts of the capital.

Whilst many rich families were driven away from Paris by fear, the varying population of the *Hôtels garnis* increased in an immense proportion. They were chiefly strangers, some attracted by the creation of the *ateliers nationaux*, others by the hope of fishing up something from the troubled waters. I instructed my agents to be very strict in examining the passports of these people.

Having been informed that an emigration from Belgium on a large scale, threatened to inundate the capital, I had proclamations posted up in all the frontier towns of the North, and in all the principal towns of France, enjoining the authorities to prevent such bodies from entering our territory.

Work began to fail, and in some of the workshops the presence of foreign workmen gave rise to complaints; many of them not having families, accepted work at very low wages.

Commerce also was in a bad way, although Spring ought to have had a beneficial effect: but the alarmists and ill-disposed persons seized

upon the slightest pretext to spread the most absurd reports, which were calculated to destroy confidence.

Some torch-light processions especially, alarmed the trading community; I therefore called upon the working classes to abstain from them, and issued the following proclamation:

"Great patriotic demonstrations, which are the expression of the sovereign will of the people, ought to be respected by all; no one has a right to stifle that powerful voice which was loud enough to overthrow a throne, in the short space of a few hours. But if every one ought to hail with joy, in the open daylight, these imposing manifestations of a whole people, it is also the duty of every good citizen energetically to protest against those partial demonstrations which are made at night, and which only tend to alarm the city, and to engender culpable hopes in the breasts of the enemies of the Republic. When the citizen is alarmed, when the enemy rejoices and hopes, the workman beholds a want of confidence, and a diminution in the demands for labour. The workman who

allows himself to be led into these nightly processions, loses a part of the present, and generally wastes the whole of the next day.

"Let us, by the sobriety of our proceedings, second the efforts of the Government, whose constant care is devoted to the working classes, but which at the same time needs their co-operation to consolidate its work. Far be it from us to misinterpret the intentions of the citizens who took part in those partial and nightly manifestations; but the more pure and upright were their intentions, the more readily will they understand sincere and patriotic language. We will therefore say to them: 'Let us be on our guard against that pretended zeal, which will not wait for the daylight to show itself. Let us, above all, fear lest those who meditate in the dark, criminal projects against our glorious Revolution, should take advantage of this example, to disturb the tranquillity of the Republic.'

"Let us keep ourselves reserved for the hour (which with God's blessing will never come,) when the Republic shall be in danger. Then will be the moment to act by torchlight and by

daylight, but until then let us remain calm, in the confidence of our strength.

"The Prefect of Police,

"CAUSSIDIERE.

"*Paris*, 31*st March*, 1848."

At the same time numerous patrols paraded all the streets, to prevent the letting off of crackers, and the shouts of "*Des Lampions!*" "*Des Lampions!*" which children, and men—greater children still—amused themselves with bawling in the evening. If these means of conciliation had not the desired effect, arrests were to be made.

The vespers, the solemnities of the Holy-week in the different churches, were protected by detachments of Montagnards, whose zeal and good conduct extorted universal praise.

The above will prove that the solicitude of the Préfecture of the Police did not overlook anything, or intermit its duties at any time.

CHAPTER XI.

The revolution in Europe—Addresses of the different nations to the French Republic—Foreign patriots in Paris—Departure of Polish, Italian, and German expeditions—Commercial crisis—Rivalry between French and foreign workmen—Revolutionary projects in Belgium—Pressing demand of Blervacq to the administration—Neutral position of the Ministry of the Interior—Citizen Fosse at the Hôtel de Ville—M. Buchez gives him money—Parts acted by different members of the Provisional Government in this affair—MM. Lamartine, Marrast, and Bastide—Permission of departure—The Belgian expedition at the railway—The fight at Risquons-tout—Killed and wounded—Snares and treachery—Revelations on these events.

THE revolution of February in France was like a sacred promise of the emancipation of every people in Europe; and Europe, in fact, was soon agitated by a sympathetic convulsion. Whilst every nationality rose against its oppressors, whilst enthusiastic addresses poured into the Hôtel de Ville from every quarter of the globe—from Italy, from Germany, from

America, and even from England and Ireland, the foreigners resident in Paris, clubbed together, and formed projects for the regeneration of their respective countries. Italy beheld her enfranchisement, Poland her resurrection, Germany her unity. Each nation founded its hopes on the liberal assurance of a revolution, the character of which appeared universal.

Thus, not a day passed that the Provisional Government did not receive deputations, waiting upon it to request its assistance in arms, and means of action in favour of liberty. Exiled Poles, proscribed Italians, Germans, and Belgians succeeded each other. The men of the Hôtel de Ville replied always by high-sounding and evasive phrases, and did not know how to turn to account this republican ferment. However, some Polish bands started for their promised land; Italians crossed the Alps to commence a patriotic struggle for liberty; and the Germans returned to their country to work for the common cause of emancipation from tyranny.

There was another cause for the migration of foreigners from Paris. The greater number of

the Germans and Belgians were workmen, who could now scarcely find employment in France, in consequence of the prevailing commercial crisis. The want of work in the *ateliers* often gave rise to dangerous disputes between the French and foreign workmen. It became, therefore, a matter of necessity to facilitate as much as possible the departure of those men, who, sooner or later, might be the cause of scenes of violence and disorder. It was to the Government as much a question of social and economical foresight, as an affair of policy and revolution.

The Belgians, especially, numbered strong in Paris, and they soon resolved to return to their country in armed bands to propagate republican principles. Belgium seemed half inclined to follow the example of France, and to establish a democracy.

Citizen Blervacq assembled together about two thousand of his compatriots, who incessantly requested means to enable them to depart. I notified to M. Ledru Rollin, the Minister of the Interior, the importunate solicitations to which I was exposed. He told me

that he should consult his colleagues, for that he could do nothing without their consent.

Some days passed. The Belgians became more pressing than ever in their demands to obtain a decision from me. The minister at length declared that the French Government could not bind itself to take any steps of a nature to excite alarm in Belgium, with which state they entertained amicable relations; that the utmost they could do was to give a gratuitous passage to all such as were desirous of returning to their country; but that they would have nothing further to do in the matter.

I had proposed to M. Ledru Rollin, in case the council should have approved of and encouraged a revolutionary movement, to give the Belgians the auxiliary aid of 2,000 Municipal Guards, who were excellent soldiers, and quite ready to march.

In fact, the ex-Municipal Guards, reduced to the rations I had allotted them, and execrated by the people of Paris, would have been only too glad to wipe out the recollections of the past by some brilliant exploit. They had nothing to do, and two or three of their officers

to whom I broached the subject, assured me of their readiness.

I communicated the resolutions of the Government to the Belgian deputation, stating my inability to assist them. I must frankly avow that personal feelings far more strongly inclined me energetically to protect this expedition than to refuse assistance to it.

The deputation withdrew, very little pleased, and some days elapsed without my hearing anything further respecting it. I looked upon it as a failure, and thought no more about it, when I was waited upon by Citizen Petiot, Head Engineer of the Northern Railway. He came to tell me that a certain Fosse demanded a special train for that very evening, to take him to Mouscron. He said that he was proceeding with a detachment of Belgians to proclaim the Republic in Belgium.

I advised M. Petiot not to do anything of the sort, unless he received direct instructions to that effect from the Préfecture of Police. I also gave immediate orders to Citizen Mercier to seek out Fosse and to bring him to me.

Mercier found Fosse at the Hôtel de Ville,

in conference with M. Buchez, the mayor's assistant, in a large room where many persons were busy writing.

Citizen Mercier addressed Fosse as follows:— "I am sent by the Prefect of Police to tell you that unless you follow me immediately to render an account of the object of your journey, he will prevent your departure."

At these words, Citizen Buchez said to Mercier;

"Hush! not so loud, I entreat you!"

It is worthy of remark, that as Mercier entered, M. Buchez gave Fosse two bank notes, and a letter of credit on a Brussels' banker from M. Lamartine.

Moreover, whilst Fosse was on his way to the Préfecture, he told Mercier that he had the support of MM. Lamartine and Marrast to organize this movement. Perhaps the news of the insurrection at Berlin, where it was said the Republic had been declared, had moved the Hôtel de Ville.

It appears besides, that all the agents of the Hôtel de Ville were aware of this expedition. As they were leaving the Hôtel de Ville, Mer-

cier and Fosse met Colonel Rey, the governor of the Hôtel, and Fosse asked him if he could not provide him with muskets. Citizen Rey seemed by no means astonished at the request, but simply replied that he had already distributed all the weapons at his disposal, and that consequently he could not at present give him any.

The Sieur Fosse made similar statements to myself, adding that he had had an interview with M. Bastide, and had obtained his consent. He showed me the letter of credit he had received from M. Buchez, and renewed his request for a special train. He had to meet the Belgians that very evening at the railway station, where he had appointed to join them, and he desired absolutely to start that very day.

I told him to return in two hours, and had all his movements watched. I wished to consult the Minister of the Interior, but he was at council, and I could not obtain anything from him. At the appointed hour Fosse returned once more to request permission to leave. I scarcely knew how to act, so I took Fosse along with me to the Minister of the Interior. After

waiting an hour, M. Ledru Rollin's secretary informed me, that the members of the Government were to attend a popular representation at the *Théatre National,* and that I should probably find the Minister of the Interior there.

I was now at last obliged, for fear of countermanding orders beyond my jurisdiction, to grant the permission required. Mercier, whom I had instructed to keep an eye on the railway-station, came and informed me that the departure bell had rung, and that the station was crowded with Belgians. A train had been prepared for the two detachments. I say two, because the fifteen hundred Belgians who left were divided amongst themselves, those commanded by Blervacq accusing Fosse and his party of having sold themselves to the Prince of Orange; these, on the other hand, declared that Blervacq and his companions supported the bad cause. A violent dispute arose, and it was with difficulty that a fight was prevented; they threatened to set fire to the station, and called out for separate trains.

Citizen Mercier, in the presence of the principal director of the railway, addressed a few energetic words to them, and whether from their fear or their good sense, these men, so loud in their demands but a few moments before, agreed to leave in the same train. A second detachnent left on the following day.

The details of that adventurous expedition are well known. The Belgians procured arms on their way as soon as they had left Lille behind them. The muskets in their possession had been almost all captured by them, and were destined to arm the National Guards of the frontier. On the evening of the 28th of March, a column, about 1100 strong, took the direction of Menin, purposing to enter Belgium by Courbecque; but whether from unforeseen difficulties, treason, or fatality, they retraced their steps in the direction of Mouscron, a passage well defended by the royalist troops.

In open daylight they entered and searched the custom-house, which was deserted; and they had the audacity to enter the Belgian ter-

ritory, when a regiment of infantry, of light-dragoons, and artillery, suddenly appeared and opposed them.

A brisk fire was kept up on both sides for more than an hour, although the brave workmen isolated, were compelled to separate and fight as sharpshooters, to avoid the ravages of the grape-shot.

They regained the French territory, leaving about a dozen of the enemy dead, and about as many of their own party on the field, with about five-and-twenty wounded on both sides.

They had in fact fallen into a regular snare. Fosse accuses Blervacq, O'Spilton, and Delestres with having acted the part of *agens provocateurs*, but they are in prison, and under a sentence of capital punishment, nor is it usual for governments to give salaries to agents whose position might compromise them, and lead to revelations.

We do not, however, mean to imply that Fosse was guilty of this crime; it is much more probable that some secret agent, whose name has not transpired, had informed the Belgian

Government of what was going on, and that the latter had taken its measures accordingly.

However this may be, the remnant of this melancholy expedition returned to Paris in a much more pitiable plight than they left it. They were lodged for a few days in the *Caserne des Grès*, where rations were allowed them.

Thus ended this affair, the responsibility of which still hangs over other heads than those of the real instigators.

If I had been called upon to give my assistance to this expedition, I should have preferred sending a large military force to co-operate with it, and I could have relied upon the support of the populations of the Borinage, where the inhabitants are much more inclined towards democratic principles than those of the cities of Brussels or Gand. They did the thing hastily, that they might reap all the honour of success—the result was cowardice and treason.

CHAPTER XII.

The counter-Revolution—The financial question—MM. Goudchaux and Garnier Pagès—Fear of capitalists—Threats of bankruptcy—M. de Rothschild—The Chaussée d'Antin—Conversation between M. Rothschild and the Prefect—The merchants—The Faubourg St. Germain—Its intentions and its acts—A white flag burned by the people—Distribution of money to the Municipal Guards—The moustachioed sister of charity—Coin bearing the effigy of Henry V—The secret service money. The Ministry of the Interior and the Mayor of Paris—The Republican guards and the spies—Anecdote of two secret agents—The Legitimists in La Vendée.—Advice of M. de Metternich—Paris under the Seine—Henry V. and the Count de Paris—Advice to the Government.

THE Government had frittered away most valuable time in internal dissentions, half measures, and dangerous hesitations.

The counter-revolutionists, stunned at first, soon began to breathe again. For some time after the Revolution, it might have been said

as in the caricature of 1830, "Please, sir, will you show me a royalist?" But gradually, without actually making themselves conspicuous, they regained their courage, and recommenced their secret intrigues.

The financial questions so feebly dealt with by MM. Goudchaux and Garnier Pagès, created an excellent opportunity for them. By acting silently on financial men, the reaction startled capitalists, and kept up a disastrous anxiety. Many of the first banking-houses would, it was currently reported, stop payment. M. Rothschild, it was added, was sending over gold and silver in bars to foreign countries, concealed in dung carts, with the intention of afterwards declaring himself a bankrupt.

These reports, canvassed by the very men whose greatest interest it would have been to stifle them, were a continued source of perplexity to me. I trembled for the effect they might have on the people who tolerate *millionaires* with resignation, if not with complacency, when so many labourers are starving in misery, and worn out by privations, but who at times make an example of hoarding capitalists.

A strict *surveillance* was consequently kept up on the *quartier* inhabited by the bankers and by M. Rothschild, by sending patrols and guards of safety there.

At this juncture M. de Rothschild, *que je tenais en filature*, (in other words, who had the eye of a secret agent upon him,) informed of the reports circulated respecting him, came to the Préfecture of Police. He entered the bureau of M. Chayet, *chef de division*. An usher requested him to come into my cabinet. I told M. Rothschild of the suspicions that rested upon him, and of the watchful measures I had thought fit to take; at the same time that he himself was under a sort of *surveillance*, occasioned by the reports in question.

M. Rothschild replied to me as follows:— "People suppose me loaded with gold, and all that I possess is scrip. My fortune and my ready money are all converted into shares, which at the present moment are valueless. It is not my intention to declare myself a bankrupt, and if I am to die, I am quite prepared; but I should regard flight as cowardly. I have even written to my relations to send me

funds to enable me to meet my engagements; should you desire it I will present my nephew to you to-morrow."

"I should be happy," I replied, "to assist you in reassuring your family; and you have nothing to fear from the people of Paris. Though poor, they are honest, and if at times rogues assume the blouse of the workman, we soon set things to rights."

In the course of conversation I asked him to allow the firm of Lacrampe and Co., the printers, who employ one hundred and fifty workmen, to open a credit with him. He regretted that it was not in his power to grant my request; but he came to me again the next day, accompanied by his nephew, and placed in my hands two thousand francs, to be distributed as I might think best. I immediately ordered them to be divided between the families of the combatants of February, who had been on duty at the Préfecture without having received any regular pay, since February.

The Messrs. Rothschild left me much more at ease, and convinced that the Republicans

were much better than they had been represented to them by their enemies.

I was also waited upon by some of the leading merchants, and tranquillized their fears by assuring them of the protective character and intentions of the Republic.

It is evident that France owes a portion of her prosperity to her manufactures, which doubles that of her agricultural produce. Our country seems to have been destined for a Republic by its geographical position, and is, at the same time, agricultural, industrial, and commercial.

The Faubourg St. Germain had also its share of the alarm that infected Paris. It was said that the nobility were drawing in their expenses, selling their houses, and dismissing their servants, with the advice that they should seek food from the Republicans. They were also accused of distributing money amongst the Municipal Guards, to gain them over to an attempt in favour of Henry V., whose accession to the throne—desired, they said, by all good citizens—was sure to succeed the present state of things.

A white flag, with the *fleurs de lis* embroi-

dered on it in gold, was found, nobody knows how, in a large timber-yard, and where a hundred and fifty hands are employed. They brought the flag to me in a body, and then proceded to the place of the Hôtel de Ville, where they burned it with shouts of "*Vive la République!*"

A M. de Caumont was accused of distributing ten francs a-head to a certain number of Municipal Guards. He avowed the fact, but declared that the money was for the families of those Municipal Guards who were married, and that it was the produce of a subscription set on foot by the noble ladies of the Faubourg. I advised him, as a measure of personal safety,—he, a major with moustaches, —to abstain in future from assuming the part of a sister of charity.

These, and many other incidents that came to light,—the circulation of one franc pieces bearing the effigy of Henry V., the schemes of the vanquished party,—all combined to keep the public mind in a state of continual and feverish excitement. This gave rise to the formation of a new brigade of prudent and

intelligent agents, under my sole direction, whose reports enabled me to assure myself of the accuracy of the reports of my men, and by their means not allow the secret service money to be squandered. It now often happens that an agent acts as a spy for both parties, and receives pay from both.

It was thus that I often received reports that had been already made to other administrations, and had been paid by them. In this manner Dormes and Considère reported to M. Carlier at the Ministry of the Interior, and to M. Marrast, the Mayor of Paris, everything they thought they had discovered at the Préfecture. One of them even gave Marrast different versions of the affair of the 15th of May. He was detected, and turned out of the Préfecture, which had a thorough hatred of spies.

Before the events of June there were four different branches of the police, which were badly enough organized. That of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the Ministry of the Interior, of the Hôtel de Ville, and of the Préfecture. After June the number of secret agents was estimated at 1,500. They were,

generally speaking, badly paid, and fully earned their money. This reminds me of a little anecdote that occurred at the time.

A secret agent had instructions to arrest an individual, who was said to be very dexterous, and difficult to catch. The agent managed however to get hold of him, and got him into a cab.

As he searched his pockets in vain for a piece of coin to pay the coachman beforehand, the prisoner offered his purse, saying that he would put it down in his bill of expenses.

"What do you mean?" asked the astonished agent.

"It's simple enough," replied the other; "like yourself I am an agent, and my outlays are made good to me at the end of every month."

An explanation took place before the proper quarters, and the warrant was annulled; the two spies, astounded at having mutually arrested each other, went and had a breakfast together, at the expense of the state.

I was convinced from the enquiries I set on foot, that there was little to fear from the Legitimist party. During the months of March

and April its conspiracies were limited to the most absurd projects; for instance, to renew the Capitaineries of La Vendée; to come to an agreement with Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England; in case of success in a civil war, to federalize France, and to put an end to Paris and its *aimables* faubourgs (according to the advice of Metternich, who was said to be conniving with them,) to turn the course of the Seine, and overflow the capital, which was regarded as the hot-bed of anarchy and of insurrection.

I was told afterwards, by persons in a position to get correct information, that a treaty of alliance had been ratified at Forkrop, between the senior and junior branches of the Bourbons. The Republic being annihilated, Henry V. was to ascend the throne of his ancestors, and as he has not, and never will have issue, the Count de Paris having grown up in the interval, would naturally succeed his cousin, by right divine.

It is for the present Government to investigate how much probability there may be in these revelations, and to keep a good account

of them, if it has any democratic spirit left in it. But it is not the former ministers of Louis Philippe, now in power, who could thwart the project of a restoration.

CHAPTER XIII.

Paris without an army—Organization of the National Guard—General election of the officers—Proclamation to the people—The Garde Mobile—The Garde Marine—The Garde de l'Hôtel de Ville—Colonel Rey—*Grande cuisine*—The table of the Préfecture—The Garde Républicaine; its leaders—Police of conciliation—The two squadrons of horse—Detachment of Lyons—Colonel Mercier—Blanqui's men—Uniform of the Garde Républicaine—The fire brigade—Ill-will of the Government—Promises of July—Expenses of the Hôtel de Ville—MM. Garnier Pagès and Marrast—The game at rackets—Republican fraternity.

In consequence of the revolution, all the troops had been sent out of Paris; and although one portion of the Provisional Government desired the recall of the army, that they might be at hand to serve a tortuous policy, they dared not, at first, do more than hazard the introduction of a few soldiers to be on duty at the barriers.

The National Guard was to be organized on

the plan of the new decree, which admitted every citizen to the right of bearing arms: the force of the National Guard might thus be increased to 300,000 men, that is to say, the number of men capable of doing duty was increased more than five-fold. The election of the officers was fixed for the 18th March, and the citizens were invited to put down their names at the mayoralty, that they might participate in this general election. But it was necessary to induce the people to make use of this precious right, and to put them on their guard against a dangerous indifference. I therefore issued the following proclamation:—

"Under existing circumstances, when the people are called upon to decide by the elections upon the greatest questions that have ever been brought forward, it would be giving proof of a culpable indifference, not to avail ourselves of the rights which we have just recovered. It is necessary that all citizens, the working classes in particular, who have hitherto been deprived of these rights, should fully understand the mission they are called upon to

fulfil. It does not suffice to have gained the victory, it is necessary to know how to turn that victory to account; nothing is done so long as there is still something to do. It would be not to comprehend the immense revolution which is now in course of accomplishment, to remain idle spectators, when the question is to consecrate it by that most solemn act—the act of election.

"Let all citizens then prepare themselves to take a share in this great manifestation of the sovereign will of the people. It is not only a right to be exercised, but it is a duty,—a duty as absolute as that of fighting for liberty and for our country—that is to be performed.

"We therefore call upon all patriots, more especially upon those whom a haughty despotism had attempted to deprive of the title of citizens, and who did not even possess the right to defend their own hearths, to put down their names without one moment's delay in the list of National Guards, that they may thus be enabled to take part in the general elections which will be held on the 18th instant.

"To facilitate the inscription of signatures,

the offices of the different mayors will be open till midnight.

"The Prefect of Police,

"CAUSSIDIERE.

"*Paris, 13th March,* 1848."

The people, however, generally neglected taking any share in the elections, and reactionary names in many instances came out of the electoral urn,—names of men who would not have been elected, if it had not been for the apathy of the working-classes.

The National Guard at first did nearly all the duty in the different branches of service, which was, however, gradually shared by the different bodies established for the safety of the capital, of which the following are the names at the commencement of April.

The *Garde Mobile,* which was originally to have consisted of twenty-four battalions of one thousand men each, was at that time being organized under the orders of General Duvivier*.

* This body, which is much below the mark in dress and cleanliness, receives one franc fifty centimes pay per diem.

It was also projected to organize some squadrons of cavalry, but they were never mounted, and part of them were disbanded.

At a later period, the intrigues of the Hôtel de Ville succeeded in establishing, in despite of my opposition, a *Garde Marine* for the internal navigation of Paris. This executive *corps* cost one million, which might surely have been better employed. The workmen at the different ports had moreover offered to register themselves as National Guards, and to undertake that duty. But the fact that that simple measure was proposed by a democrat was quite sufficient to cause its rejection.

A guard of eight hundred men commanded by Colonel Rey was destined for the special service of the Hôtel de Ville; and was often detained whole days there. The men had their board and received 1 franc 50 cents a-day; they kept a splendid table.

The day's wages of a head cook were twelve francs. Accordingly those employed by me to cook for the Préfecture soon demanded ten francs a-day. I paid their bills, and told them to go to the Hôtel de Ville where they would be better remunerated. I dismissed them that

very night. Their demand did not seem to me in harmony with democratic principles, especially when so many poor devils were on foot day and night, with a musket on their shoulder, who scarcely received enough to procure them food.

But, as I remarked before, whilst endeavouring to establish external order by internal disorder, I felt every moment the weakness of my powers of action. The number of posts to be occupied, the numberless *corvées* and patrols to be renewed every night, rendered the number of the Montagnards insufficient.

I therefore presented to the Minister of the Interior the project of a Republican Guard, twelve hundred strong of foot and three hundred horsemen, their numbers to be increased should circumstances require it. To avoid the risk of creating a Pretorian Guard, it was necessary that the command of these troops should be entrusted only to energetic leaders, deeply imbued with democratic principles; these men selected from the ranks of the commonalty were to protect it, and enlighten it on its path, instead of thinking how they might one day become its executioners.

The application of this moral system is not so difficult as it may appear at the first glance, and I had the satisfaction of seeing it very frequently carried into practice, by the Montagnards first, and by the *Garde Republicaine* afterwards. I was desirous of establishing a police of conciliation, which would have relied chiefly on the respect and affection it inspired to all. But this guard of the people was not to have power or authority until it had been subjected to severe discipline.

The Government gave a verbal authorization to effect the formation of a body of twelve hundred foot and two squadrons of cavalry. The ranks were open to patriots and old soldiers who could produce good certificates. Two hundred and fifty horses of the Municipal Guard, which had been collected in the different faubourgs, served to mount the two squadrons, which soon excited the admiration of all who beheld them on the Boulevards and in the streets. My brave fellows, with their simple *bourgeron* and red *képi**, which constituted their

* *Bourgeron* the half jacket, and *képi* the red cap, of the African soldier.

uniform, had a singular and martial appearance, which at once denoted that they were not novices in the art of war.

It was agreed that this guard should be put on the army list, each man being bound for three years, and in case of neglect of duty liable to the army regulations. The election of their officers, up to the rank of captain, was made by each company, with the view of excluding incapacity.

The decree legally constituting this corps never made its appearance; to this *mauvais-vouloir* of the authorities may in some measure be attributed the events of the 15th May; but we shall not say more upon that affair just now; *that* shall be explained later.

Shortly afterwards the Ministry of the Interior sent me a body of Lyonnese, about six hundred strong, with directions to incorporate them in the Republican Guard. Numbers of citizens likewise requested to be enrolled. A committee was appointed to examine the claims and certificates of each individual.

That committee was presided over by Citizen Mercier, whom his ten years' service as an

officer, and his zealous and intelligent patriotism, made me propose for the rank of colonel. If by this act I infringed upon the regulated gradation of military advancement, it was at all events against the will of Mercier, who refused to accept the promotion; but I began to detect the germs of disorganization, and the effects of underhand intrigues to sow division among the republicans of the Préfecture. Blanqui found a fissure wherein to introduce his.

The dress of the Republican Guard was at that time a blue uniform turned up with red, and a hat similar to the guards of the Consulate, with red hanging aigrettes. Those who have seen detachments of these men, will allow that they had a very fine and imposing appearance.

My successors have altered the uniform; the red has been replaced by blue, and we shall probably shortly see it transformed into white;—then it will become indispensably necessary to return to the red.

To alleviate the duties of the National Guard, in concert with the staff, I had it replaced at different posts by the Republican Guard, which

zealously performed its duties till the 15th of May.

The vigilance of the fire brigade had not relaxed since the 24th of February, and the number of their stations had been greatly augmented since then.

Called upon by the high post I filled in the magistracy, to be their immediate chief, all my solicitude was due to their interests.

This military, courageous, and intelligent body had hailed the advent of the Revolution with an enthusiasm which rendered its members still more dear to me. I recognised in them honest citizens, capable of doing great things. I therefore presented to the Minister of the Interior a project for the formation of a new company, that it might alleviate the fatigues of a continual and laborious service imposed upon so small a number as six hundred. My demand, though reasonable enough, was rejected, on the ground that it was impossible to make an addition to the budget which had been already voted. They promised to take my proposal into consideration next year.

I also endeavoured, but in vain, to obtain the former pay, that is to say, ten centimes additional per diem, making a sum of twenty-four thousand francs for the remaining months of the year.

This increase had been solemnly promised to me, and I had intimated that official promise to this respectable corps, which may have supposed that I had flattered it with false hopes, when I was but the organ of a Government already gone back to the errors of July;—many promises, but no fulfilment of them.

Thus, whilst ten centimes a-day were refused to useful citizens, enormous sums were allowed to be squandered with impunity at the Hôtel de Ville. The daily expenses at the Hôtel de Ville amounted to the sum of seven thousand francs. They also refused to give me vouchers for the sums necessary to pay the employés in my administration. I laid a complaint on the subject before the Council, in which M. Garnier Pagès, then Minister of Finances, and M. Marrast, the Mayor of Paris, mutually shoved upon each other the task of filling up the vouchers;—it was a regular game at rackets. I was con-

sequently compelled, a few days afterwards, to solicit from M. Buchez a republican benevolence of five or six thousand francs for the Montagnards, who could not understand why my coffers should be empty.

Such was the state of the public force up to the 15th of May in Paris, which was almost without one really organized corps.

And yet order was maintained by the sole power of republican fraternity: and not one single drop of blood fell to stain that agitated epoch, when society was struggling to emancipate itself.

CHAPTER XIV.

Attacks of the reactionary journals—The Bank of France—Its notes and its shares—Discount and circulation of bills—Proposition of the *Réforme*—Guarantee establishment in Holland—Advantage of such an establishment—Capital of one hundred millions—The speculators—Financial and commercial crisis—Manufactories and shops—Purchases and sales—Export orders—The rich and the poor—Napoleon and the English traders—Protest and bankruptcy—A million for a hundred thousand francs—The flags of misery—Bread or lead !—Labour and not alms—Delicacy of the workmen—It is only those who do nothing that do not make mistakes—The journal *La Presse*—A mob round its offices—M. de Girardin—*A bas La Presse*—The liberty of the press—Popular eloquence of the Montagnards—The elections—The clergy—the army—Power of the Provisional Government—The right to Labour—Agricultural colonies—Property—The soil constitutes the true riches of a country.

ALREADY the reactionary journals, *La Presse* among others, accused the Government of neglect, and outvied each other in their clamours on the financial crisis—the result of a want of

confidence—which brought business for the moment to a stand-still.

An ill-judged measure taken by the Provisional Government with regard to the repayment of certain interests by the Bank of France, threw discredit on the bills, at the same time that it increased the value of shares.

The result was, that for many days there was a run upon that establishment; holders of notes kept hurrying to the Bank to get coin in exchange for them: to such an extent was this carried that the directing committee would only authorize the payment in specie to the administrations, and even then with certain restrictions. Capitalists refused to cash commercial bills, for fear they might be dishonoured when they fell due. These plausible reasons admitted of no refutation.

Among the various practical means imagined to restore confidence, the journal *La Réforme* proposed one which had the merit of having previously succeeded in Holland, in a financial crisis analogous to that of France after the Revolution of February.

Holland had created and endowed a gua-

rantee establishment, which did not discount paper, but which stood security for its payment in case of non-payment by the original acceptors.

To this end there were established in the different towns where the guarantee establishment had its branch banks, a committee of inspection, consisting of men of the locality, best adapted to recognize and estimate the genuineness and solidity of the scrip which was to be guaranteed.

This commission decided upon the acceptance or rejection of the paper presented, and a stamp or endorsement of guarantee was put upon such as were received at a certain fixed per centage.

The scrip having thus a legal value, circulated through the country without any difficulty, and the capitalists, far from refusing, eagerly accepted it.

The results were of such a nature that in a few months the crisis was completely at an end. Not only was the capital with which the guarantee establishment had been called into operation not lost, but the subscribers and

persons who had an interest in it received large dividends.

That national bank, somewhat similar to the project of establishing discounting banks in each *arrondissement* of Paris, with a committee of inspection selected from the shareholders themselves, was to have been realized with a capital of one hundred millions. This sum would have sufficed to guarantee a hundred times that amount of commercial value.

This would have restored circulation. The hundred millions to endow the establishment were to be procured as follows:—

1. A reduction of all salaries paid by the state to functionaries of every description, in the following proportion, and for the space of one year:—

On salaries of 1000 francs and downwards, no reduction;

On salaries varying from 1000 to 4000 francs, one-tenth;

On salaries varying from 4000 to 8000 francs, one-fifth;

On salaries above 8000 francs, one quarter.

It was calculated that these reductions would raise a fund of fifty millions.

2. The then present tax of forty-five centimes per franc on patents, to be increased to fifty centimes, which would procure a fund of twenty-five millions.

3. Twenty-five millions might be raised on the forty millions destined to establish banks of discount in the departments, which would be rendered unnecessary by the proposed measure.

4. This capital would be increased by the premiums raised on the guarantees given.

I have cited this project because I think it applicable. When it was adopted by Holland it succeeded completely.

If ill-will, and a resort to petty measures had not contributed to the general stagnation of affairs, confidence would have been more speedily restored. The active minds of speculators regard a state of stagnation as the greatest of calamities.

The briskness of operation on the Bourse becomes a second nature to them; it is a species of game that procures them all the

excitement of lansquenet, an excitement which, after a certain time, they cannot exist without.

This financial crisis fell heavily on commerce, which was already suffering, and in danger from other causes.

Thus the evil which existed before February continued unabated.

The spring season, which usually brings large orders to the manufacturer, and consequently purchases and sales to the tradesman, had not its customary result. We will give the reason for this. With the manufacturers it was want of orders from foreign purchasers. Tissues, articles of dress of every description, are always ordered in the winter, before All Saints' day, so that they may be ready for Easter, at which period all the new fashions come out, and when all the most important purchases are made; this is also applicable to all the goods fabricated at Paris, such as works in bronze and ivory, shawls and knick-knacks, —in a word, to the thousand other articles made for Paris and the departments.

The exportation of these articles takes place at a longer or shorter time before the two periods

I have indicated as the time for making sales; thus the goods destined for America are dispatched six weeks beforehand. The orders given in November and December 1847 were, generally speaking, below the usual average of former seasons, for which reason there was a glut of merchandize in those houses, which fabricate in anticipation of orders, in other words, which count upon the demands of the season.

This occasioned a dismissal of hands in the different workshops, and the consequent inability of those thrown out of employ to purchase new clothing, &c. The large commercial firms temporarily restricted their business sooner than risk their capital. From great to small, all acting upon this principle, commercial affairs were brought to a stand-still.

The rich on system, the poor from necessity, deprived the tradesmen of their daily support. The result to the manufacturers and the shopkeers who sell by retail to the public, was a prolonged slackness of trade, which caused many bankruptcies.

However, every five or six years commerce

has to suffer from a dead season, and business only becomes the more brisk afterwards.

The Government, doubtless, never supposed the stagnation would last, otherwise it might have caused the exportation of the goods on hand, in the manufactories and shops, to be made on account of the State. These goods would have been offered at prices to tempt foreign purchasers; that is to say, at a reduction of 5, 10, or 15 per cent., according as the case might require it.

This national balance, besides restoring credit, would have dealt a heavy blow to foreign competition, for the foreigner can only compete with us by lower prices.

(Napoleon ordered English merchandize, to the amount of thirty-five millions, which had been seized by the French revenue officers, to be burnt.)

This system would not have entailed any great expense. The sums spent on the national workshops would have almost sufficed to make up the balance.

The payment would have been guaranteed by bills at twelve and twenty-five months' sight,

and bearing interest at 3 per cent. Advances would have been offered at a small discount, to the manufacturers who were worst off.

By the application of such measures, commerce would have taken an interest in the prosperity of the Republican Government.

Should it be objected, that the sale of these goods, at a reduction of 15 per cent., would have caused a fall in prices for the future? I answer, every one is aware how at present our manufactories are overrun with foreign agents, who come to purchase wholesale at 30 to 40 per cent. discount; and this takes place in merchandize of the first quality.

A manufacturer has heavy bills falling due; he has more merchandize than capital on hand; payment must be made; he must therefore provide himself with good bills or coin to meet the demand; there is no time to be lost; a sacrifice must be made, or the inflexible notary will knock at his door with protested bills, ruin his credit, and make him a bankrupt.

The agent is up to affairs of this description; he sees his man, and pretends not to be in want of anything, that he may screw him at

pleasure; thence arise those sales at dirt-prices, which bring disorder into commerce, and ruin the manufacturer, whilst the man that lives by his wits makes a fortune!

These disastrous facts are unhappily not exaggerated: what I have just set down is but a feeble sketch of what takes place every day.

There is no arguing about the giving of capital, of the amount of credit necessary, nor of the embarrassments which these operations of bargain and sale would cause to the state. Has the state less resources at its command than a private individual, who, with a hundred thousand francs, transacts during the year business to the amount of a million?

Does this same individual know the cost-price of the merchandize he buys and sell? At need has he not especial agents to examine the intrinsic value of the articles he wishes to purchase?

By thus facilitating commercial transactions, labour would have been provided for the work-shops, and the straight-forward and honest workman, whatever his calumniators may say to the contrary, would not have been forced

upon the barricades, with a piece of bread at the end of a pole for a standard; he would not have chosen as his battle-cry, that fatal shriek of despair, "Bread or lead!"

I remember that one day a workman called upon me, to ask for employment at the Préfecture. He told me that he had fought in February, and showed me a scar scarcely healed, on his right arm, with a certificate of the fact. He added, that he was the father of a family, and that his wife has been just confined of her third child.

I offered him twenty francs, telling him that I should not forget him. He thrust back the money, and with tears in his eyes, said:

"Do you take me for a mendicant, that you offer me money? It is work I seek, and not alms."

"I did not wish to offer you alms," I replied "by humiliating you I should have demeaned myself; take this loan, you can dispose of it afterwards, in favour of some unfortunate, when work shall have enabled you to render a service to some one."

With great difficulty I prevailed upon him

to accept the twenty francs. A few days afterwards I procured him a situation.

I could narrate many incidents of delicacy of feeling and disinterestedness on the part of the working classes. Thank God, such feelings are too habitual to them to need their being held up to admiration.

To return to the principal subject of this chapter. More decisive measures might have been taken to restore activity to the finances, and to restore work to the manufacturer; perhaps they feared to apply them, perhaps also they escaped the foresight of the Provisional Government, which having to do so much, seized upon the means nearest at hand.

It is however easy to detect faults after they have been committed, and to apply a remedy; it is another thing to foresee them. As the old proverb says: "It is only those who do nothing, that make no mistake."

Unhappily the reactionary journals would listen to nothing, and if they exaggerated the faults committed, they however did not point out the remedy.

The journal *La Presse*, carried its strictures to

such a pitch, as to excite against it the indignation of a great portion of the people. It employed the liberty of the press with such hostility, that for some evenings tumultuous crowds assembled near its offices.

I was already informed of these rumours, when three persons came and acquainted me with a singular speech enough, as narrated at a wine-shop, by one of the printers of *La Presse*.

According to this man, M. de Girardin, aware that an attack was premeditated, to destroy his type, is said to have remarked: "Well, so much the better; let them come and destroy and pillage the type—it is what I desire. We will burn *them* afterwards—that we will."

I took measures to deprive M. de Girardin of the pleasure of seeing his type destroyed, and of a pretext to revenge himself at his ease upon the violence of the republicans.

In the evening more numerous and more violent groups assembled, crying: "*à bas la Presse*! A detachment of National Guards, which endeavoured to disperse the crowd, was driven back.

I had sent some forty citizens, on whom I

could rely, to the spot, with instructions to disperse all assemblages by the voice of persuasion, and should they not succeed, to form in the court-yard of the establishment, and to defend the entrance at the risk of their lives.

A certain number of Montagnards were, as it were, casually hanging about the Place de la Bourse, ready to advance to the aid of their comrades, at the first signal.

It was urgent above all things to protect the dwelling of the citizen, and not to allow any precedent for violence.

It was the duty of the Republic to protect the liberty of the press, of whatsoever shade of opinion, that the magistrates might not be accused of tolerating dangerous illusions.

Such were the reasons I expounded to the citizens whom I entrusted with this mission, leaving to their intelligence the care of explaining them to the crowd, should any excesses be attempted.

An agent shortly afterwards came to inform me, that the Montagnards had shown such zeal, and displayed so much popular elo-

quence, that they had succeeded in dispersing the crowd without resorting to force.

When their leaders afterwards rendered me an account of their mission, they appeared as happy as if they had just gained a victory on the barricades.

M. de Girardin moderated the tone of his leading articles, and the crowds around his office ceased.

Thus, at this period, from many causes, the financial and commercial crisis was at its height. The reactionary journals raised their heads, and attacked a Government of six weeks' standing, with more acrimony than the Republicans themselves had attacked the Government of seventeen years.

The elections had just been adjourned to the 23rd of April. The position of affairs seemed to become more and more complicated. It was high time to adopt firm and decisive measures. The people alone offered its cordial support to the government of the barricades, on condition that it would follow out the line laid down by the 24th of February.

A portion of the lower clergy seemed in-

clined to rally round the Republic, but the majority of the ecclesiastics were hostile to it, thus returning ingratitude for the liberty which had been conceded to it by the Government, and for the wise protection it had extended to the free exercise of worship.

The army might be gained by a change in the grades; the most lively sympathy for the Republic existed in the ranks of the subalterns and privates; all that they desired was to march to the assistance of their brothers in Poland and in Italy.

The Government, therefore, had immense power. It ought, on the one hand, by re-establishing credit to have renewed confidence, and brought the larger capitals into play; and, on the other hand, to have restored activity to commerce by lending a willing hand to it; to have provided for the wants of the people by the organization of the right to labour, and finally, as a last measure, to have organized civil colonies for the most necessitous families. The possession of the soil should have been made the property of those who cleared it and cultivated it, on the payment of an equit-

able proportionate rent, which would reimburse the State for its primary expenses in supplying agricultural tools and building materials.

Colonies of this description, conducted with prudence, cannot fail to succeed. They would tend to recall a portion of the population to agricultural labours, which have been so long neglected and so badly managed: no citizen can fall into abject poverty with five or six acres of land to cultivate.

The soil, cultivated with industry, constitutes the real wealth of a country.

CHAPTER XV.

The Commission of the Luxembourg—Louis Blanc and Albert—Master and man—Threatened disturbances—The tailors and outfitters—The hackney coachmen—Five thousand bakers—Paris starved—The stone-cutters—Moderation of the workmen—The advertising offices—The April term—Landlord and tenant—The black flag—Notice of the Prefect of Police—*Le quartier des Quinze-vingt*—Amicable settlement—Buried alive or hanged—Honesty of the poor—The state of siege—General Cavaignac and the ushers—*L'ordre, la famille, et la propriété.*

WHILST the commission of the Luxembourg was endeavouring to regulate the hours of labour and the salaries of the workmen, the latter often manifested their impatience by assemblages which at times bore a threatening aspect. Louis Blanc and Albert enjoyed their full confidence, and warded off or calmed many dangerous agitations. It is partly to their influence that must be attributed the magnani-

mous and tranquil conduct of the working classes during the first days of the Revolution.

But the secret hostility of the other members of the Government against the Luxembourg, continually threw fresh obstacles in the path of the two young reformers.

Having to contend in the Council, against their colleagues, out of it, against the alarmed *bourgeoisie*, against the difficulties of a precarious position which beset them on all sides; finally, without the financial resources necessary for such a crisis, Louis Blanc and Albert were powerless to dispel, or to mitigate, in any great degree, the misery of the working classes.

The different bodies of the State therefore continually turned their thoughts to the Préfecture, and came to demand my interference. In most instances I succeeded in effecting an amicable settlement between master and man.

At times the irritation grew into a riot, which my popular and Republican police always succeeded in putting down.

There existed, long before the Revolution, a rivalry between the tailors and the outfitters,

the latter ruining the trade of the former by selling their goods at a very reduced price. At the commencement of March I was informed that many thousand tailors' apprentices purposed pillaging the warehouses of the outfitters. In fact, they began to assemble in the Rues Montesquieu and Croix des Petits Champs; the shops were closed, and it was only by numerous patrols and pacific remonstrances that the storm was averted. It was even necessary to send as mediators some brave patriots of the same trade, who obtained a hearing, and no act of violence had to be regretted.

In the strike of the hackney coachmen, after many disputes, both at the Luxembourg and at the Préfecture, between the masters and the delegates, they at last came to terms, and in a notice, published on the 13th of April, there is the following paragraph, addressed to the men they represented:—

"We inform you that at an interview we had with the Prefect of Police, that magistrate requested us to recommend you to be civil, honest, and courteous towards the public, and to live in harmony with foreign coachmen,

especially with those who have applied to be naturalized Frenchmen. We have promised it.

"Your delegates,

(Signed) "RONDINEAU.
"BOISGONTIER.
"DUTRON."

The bakers' apprentices, who worked sixteen or seventeen hours out of the four-and-twenty, had most justly demanded a reduction in the hours of labour. On the 26th of March they struck work, to the number of four or five thousand. Having been sent from the Hôtel de Ville to the Luxembourg without being able to obtain any decision, they rushed to the Préfecture, followed by a number of deputies, who had been chosen by the master bakers.

Some twenty bakers' apprentices and the deputies were shown into my cabinet, and the basis of a code of regulations was decided upon, which was to be published the next day.

When the crowd of workmen who were waiting in the yard below and in the adjacent streets got a glimpse of the first articles, they were

about to vent their anger in blows upon their delegates, crying, "Down with the traitors." The Montagnards prevented for the moment an exchange of blows. But the situation was serious; they threatened to bake no more bread, and incited each other to wreak their vengeance upon the master bakers.

Hereupon I descended into the court-yard, and ordered all those who were outside the Préfecture to be brought in; their faces were flushed with anger.

"You speak," I told them, "of ceasing to work and starving the capital; you talk of ill-treating the master bakers; you tear to pieces regulations you have been endeavouring to obtain, and you accuse of treachery those who have drawn up conditions to your advantage! That is not the behaviour of good citizens! Now, mind, if you become riotous, and withhold your services, we will make bread without you. To-morrow, however, the whole of the city will learn that you have rendered yourselves unworthy of the name of Republicans.

"The anger and the contempt of twelve hun-

dred thousand souls will fall upon you, and this general indignation will completely crush your outbreak, which is entirely individual.

"You talk of ill-treating and taking vengeance upon your employers! Are you then robbers and assassins? You will strike me also, for it is my duty to defend them. And yet I am convinced there are no assassins here. I would enter amongst you without fear. You accuse your delegates of betraying you, and I also am a traitor towards you; for I assisted them in drawing up the regulations which reduce your hours of labour, and secure to you higher wages. The regulations are ready; but for your sakes, and for the dignity of the Republic of which you form a part, it shall not appear till next month; you would not wish your enemies to have it in their power to say that force usurped the place of justice. You have a good cause,—endeavour to place yourselves in the list of prudent and laborious citizens, and the Republic will neglect no means to alleviate your grievances."

This speech, of which I only give the substance, called forth a thunder of applause and

repeated cries of "*Vive la République!*" which were followed by a solemn promise to resume their work quietly.

In fact they returned quietly to their work, and Paris was never short of bread.

I had much greater difficulty in settling the differences of the men employed at the Halle, or Corn Exchange. Although from the very first they consented to my jurisdiction, it was very difficult to content them. For a whole month they put my patience to the proof. The (so-called) *forts*, about one hundred in number, enjoy certain privileges; the porters, who are not so well paid, amount to about fifteen hundred. They demanded that one hundred of their number should be enrolled into the ranks of the privileged corporation. Neither party would listen to reason. As they were honest men all of them, I wished, as much as possible, to satisfy them; and, tired of the dispute, I made them accept of regulations which at least served the interests of the majority.

The applications of discontented workmen at the Préfecture were almost incessant. At

one time it was the men employed on the railways, who were opposed to foreigners' being employed; at another time it was the stonecutters; then again it was Paris and the Banlieue, that demanded the organization of labour, the interference of the Republic in commercial matters, and the relief of the poorer classes.

It was necessary to use not only entreaties, but threats to prevent an outbreak. But thanks to concessions on the part of the *employés*, and moderation on the part of the men, all gradually settled down.

One of the chief causes of complaint was the *bureaux de placement*, or offices for procuring situations, which levied a heavy per centage on several classes of tradesmen, such as cooks, restaurants, bakers, shoemakers, and hairdressers. I put a stop by proclamation to all these taxes upon the workman.

But the crisis which threatened most the tranquillity of certain *quartiers*, and the good understanding between citizens, was that of the rents at the commencement of April. Rent-day was approaching. How was it pos-

sible to pay when nothing had been received, when the work was stopped in nearly all the timber-yards, when the population, which lived from hand to mouth, had with difficulty procured enough to keep soul and body together?

The excitement was great in the faubourgs and the streets inhabited by the working-classes. Evil-disposed persons encouraged them not to pay their landlords. Numerous tumultuous meetings were held, and a black flag was hoisted on some of the houses. I confess I felt some anxiety.

I found it necessary to take prompt and efficacious measures, and I commenced by publishing the following proclamation, which was universally approved:—

"*Paris, 27th March,* 1848.

"The Prefect of Police, informed that many individuals have uttered threats against the landlords who refuse to relinquish their claims of rent due in April, feels it his duty to call upon his fellow citizens to respect every just claim.

"Landlords, like other citizens, have to sup-

port the taxes imposed upon them. How can they do so if the rents, on which they relied, are not paid to them?

"The contract between landlord and tenant must be respected; and it is necessary that the whole population should be made aware, that the authorities will watch over the safety of all, and, if necessary, suppress any disturbances which evil-minded persons may excite.

"Doubtless, the common sense of the public will render it needless to have recourse to such extreme measures.

"The Prefect of Police,

"CAUSSIDIERE."

At the same time, I sent delegates into the faubourgs Saint Antoine, du Temple, Saint Martin, Saint Marceau, the Marais, and elsewhere, to endeavour by pacific means to reconcile the landlords and tenants.

On both sides these steps were well received, and my republicans succeeded in bringing to a proper understanding the rich and the poor.

In the *quartier* des Quinze-vingt, Commandant Caillaud had greater difficulty. The

Marché Noir was thronged by a vast multitude, and black flags were hoisted over the doors of most of the houses. The workmen were in such a state of excitement, that the Commandant kept his men at a distance and entered alone into the crowd.

He first demanded that the flags should be taken down and destroyed, and after three hours' persuasion he succeeded in effecting an amicable arrangement, all persons shaking hands, and shouting "*Vive la République!*"

But the *bourgeoisie* had received a severe shock, and for some days terror reigned in the houses of the landlords. Commandant Caillaud mentions in his report one old lady who attempted to burn herself alive, to escape being hanged. Her husband and some of her friends were obliged to keep watch over her during the day.

The in-born honesty of the poor contributed to bring this affair to a termination, which was a question I always considered one of the most delicate, and most important to public order to be settled amicably.

To-day, under our happy state of siege, the

miserable furniture of the poor workman is seized and sold, and his naked and wretched family is turned into the street. This is what General Cavaignac styles the protection of *l'ordre, la famille, et la propriété.*

I leave it to others to judge of the sympathy which such a fraternal system excites in the hearts of the unfortunate.

CHAPTER XVI.

Meeting of the Commissaries of Police—Speech on the union of citizens—The incorrigible discontents—The people and the *bourgeoisie*—Appeal to fraternity—The Commission of Inquiry—Return towards the past—M. Odilon Barrot and the banquets—M. Bauchard and the Commission of Inquiry—Address of the Commissaries to the Prefect—The Royalists and the Republicans—Charges—The personnel of the Cabinet—M. Allard—The *agens de Sûreté*—Disguises—Political spies—Charles Marchal and M. Cremieux—Number 580—A million to assassinate the Duke of Bordeaux—Indignation of M. Delessert—Brochure against Louis Philippe—*Les gardiens de Paris*—The London police—The magic wand—The French character—The real Cavaignac—Emancipation of man—The false Cavaignac and socialism—The ex-*sergens de ville*—M. Marrast—Attempt at jugglery—Good faith of the Mayor of Paris—M. Ledru Rollin—The *Constitutionnel.*

UNTIL the month of August the Préfecture, notwithstanding the embarrassments attending its new position, arising from the revolution of February, continued its functions regularly as a part of the administrative machinery, and as

a moral power. Business was transacted with promptitude and exactness. Within three weeks eight thousand permissions of naturalisation were issued, which were rendered necessary by the decree relative to the general elections. Conciliatory measures, which are the more efficacious when backed by the consciousness of power to act upon them, were always employed by my agents. Each division gave proofs of equal intelligence.

The Commissaries of Police alone, whose important functions were called greatly into play by the new impulse given to the people, showed some hesitation. I found it necessary to quiet their apprehensions, and to appeal to their good sense and patriotism, in which most of them were not wanting.

I convoked a meeting of them towards the end of April. Of forty-eight, forty-five came. My address to them, on this occasion, was perhaps the best and the most conclusive that the Republic could have inspired. I pointed out to them the necessity of the most untiring watchfulness and zeal to put the people on their guard against the provocations of their enemies. I told them,

that all the projects of destruction and incendiarism which kept anxiety alive, had not their seat in the hearts of the working classes, but only in the minds of some incorrigible malcontents; that the former might be brought to a sense of reason by pacific remonstrances; that we were the guides and not the oppressors of the people. I enjoined them to invite the *bourgeoisie* to prudence and moderation in their acts and relations with the working classes. I recommended firmness and decision in the fulfilment of their duties, and the employment of conciliatory measures to encourage those whom misfortunes had soured, and to recommend the privileged classes to fraternize with those that were suffering.

On the deposition of Sieur Troessard, who after being dismissed, proposed to give me secret information, which I declined, as also his services as Commissary of Police, the Commission of Inquiry endeavoured to cast a censure upon me, upon the above speech, which they misrepresented and garbled. Since they must needs return to the past, it would have been more reasonable to have censured the speeches of

M. Odilon Barrot at the banquets. It is true that the patron of M. Bauchard was a member of the Commission of Inquiry. If political passions had not entirely blinded them to all sense of justice, the perusal of the following document would have convinced every one of the purity of my intentions :—

"CITIZEN PREFECT,

"Your reception of the manifestation we had the happiness to make you, has filled us with gratitude.

"We shall always tell you truth, because we are aware that we address ourselves to a man with a good heart. We co-operate with you in making the Republic beloved.

"Your subordinates have given proofs of courage and feeling; they will endeavour to promote everything that appertains to real fraternity; such also are our intentions, and we shall fulfil them.

"You will find us devoted to our country, whenever the Government of the Republic shall be in danger; be assured that we speak from our sincere conviction.

"We are proud to serve under the orders of a man always ready to hear truth, whatever it may be, and who holds in little estimation the qualities of the flatterer.

"We will love you!

"*Paris, the 29th of April,* 1848.

"The Commissaries of Police, delegated by their colleagues,

"A. GABET.
"GILLE.
"YVER.
"A. DOUSSAUX.
"BRUNCAMP.
"BOUILLE.
"DESVIGNES.
"PANNIER.
"CHAYEUX.
"A. LALMAND.
"BRAVIEUX.
"RUONNIE."

Another letter, dated 23rd August last, signed by MM. Nusse and Jennesson, contained the following:—

"The impression made upon us by your

words is, that through the medium of the Commissaries of Police we should exhort the population to mutual concessions, and to abstain especially from anything likely to give rise to ill-blood."

Different commissaries of police offered to come forward to testify in favour of my upright intentions.

Wherefore? The royalists, Odilon Barrot, Bauchard, and others, sought by every means in their power to strike at the republican. Will they have any just right hereafter to appeal to the clemency of the people?

The different branches of the public service, reorganized since the 25th of February, had undergone but little change. A small number of employés took a share in politics; the *personnel* of the cabinet alone underwent a complete change.

If I had remained at the Préfecture, I should have dismissed men only for incapacity or treachery. I had intended proving my gratitude to M. Allard, by appointing him to the head of a commissariat; in those days of difficulty, all his youthful energy had returned. The

services rendered by his safety-brigades are unquestionable. Before February his men, generally entrusted with the most perilous enterprises, did not exceed forty, or five-and-forty; at my departure the number was doubled. With one hundred active agents, and other means at the disposal of the police, which have been proved by the test of experience, the complete safety of the capital may be provided for.

The agents must be men of a robust frame, clear-sighted, sagacious, and expert at adopting all sorts of disguises: I have seen some disguised with such skill, that it was impossible for their most intimate acquaintances to recognise them. By practice they acquire the perseverance and, it would seem, the scent of the bloodhound. They take as much pleasure in an arrest as other men would in a party of pleasure; they regard every dangerous enterprise that may fall to their duty, as a piece of good luck.

To the eyes of men of common sense, the services they render entirely exonerate them from odium, whilst the political spy is despised

and execrated by all. How many are there, bearing the form and aspect of men, who shake you by the hand, and who deserve to have theirs crushed in a vice. The *Salle des Pas Perdus*, or ante-room of the National Assembly, swarms with political agents, and many of them are decorated. They endeavour to scrape acquaintance with the republican representatives, and having done so, they carefully note down every thing that is said for or against men in power. They importuned me incessantly, and at times I found it necessary to tell them I saw through them,—to some I even told their official number.

One of the most impudent of them, Charles Marchal, arrested after the events of the 15th of May, was brought before M. Cremieux, and set at liberty on his denial that he acted as a spy. He was always to be found in the *Salle des Pas Perdus*, and entered familiarly into every conversation.

One day he came up to me, desirous to enter into conversation.

"You are Charles Marchal?" I said.

"I am," he replied.

"You are number 580. Be off then as soon as possible."

I warned M. La Rochejaquelin two or three days afterwards, to be on his guard against the officiousness of this amiable citizen, who endeavoured to pump and then to betray him.

Under Louis Philippe, Charles Marchal tendered his services to M. Delessert, then Prefect of Police. He offered to assassinate the Duke of Bordeaux for a million of francs.

"I am a man," he writes, "of good education and engaging manners; I shall live in grand style—on an aristocratic scale—and shall get introduced to him. I shall by degrees become intimate with him. Opportunity and my own courage will do the rest."

On the margin of this letter, I read the following note in the hand-writing of M. Delessert:—

"If this villain repeats his demand, have him arrested immediately."

My reason for making this revelation is, that Charles Marchal had the impudence to solicit the post of secretary at the Préfecture, and to demand a pension from the National Assembly

on the plea of having been imprisoned for political offences, and for having rendered service to the cause of the republic.

It is true that he was sentenced to imprisonment for publishing a pamphlet against Louis Philippe, but his trial proved that he was in the pay of the Court.

This attack against his royal protector originated in a refusal to give him a sum of money he had demanded.

In order to complete the police of safety, it was proposed about this time to organize a body of men on the same principle as the London police force. The project was submitted by the Minister of the Interior to the Government, who accepted it. A small cutlass was, however, to be substituted for the "magic wand" of the policeman; the sarcastic turn of mind of the people might have turned that symbol into ridicule; and, moreover, our natures are less pacific than those of our neighbours across the channel.

In this respect our civilization is much behindhand. The French character does not submit itself so easily to the authority of the

law, which has been hitherto represented by monarchy. But the day doubtless will dawn when the real representatives of social order will no longer stand in need of an armed force to have their mandates executed. Then, as said the real Cavaignac—our friend Godefroy——instead of losing his time by watching a wall with a musket on his shoulder, every man in his turn will be called to superintend machinery that liberates the arms of man. The political aspirations of the existing Cavaignac are not exactly of a nature to predispose us in favour of the socialist theories of his brother.

A few days only had elapsed, when four thousand men applied to serve as Paris policemen. A commission was appointed to examine their claims, the preference to be given to such patriots as had suffered from political causes, and all were to be free from any criminal impeachment. No *ex-sergent de ville* was allowed to enter this honourable body.

The commissaries had already selected some hundreds; their uniforms were ordered, and some already performed duty under the Commissaries of Police, when I was informed that

M. Marrast had opened offices at the Hôtel de Ville for the same purpose.

And yet M. Marrast was aware that this was a duty which devolved upon the Municipal Police, and that the organization of this force was attended to with zeal.

I put a stop to this attempt at jugglery by publishing a decree, to the effect that I should cause to be arrested and punished according to the civil code, all persons appearing in the public thoroughfares under false names and performing duties not prescribed to them.

Fully determined to act energetically, I transmitted this order to the Commissioners of Police. At the same time I notified my resolution to the Minister of the Interior, who explained the affair to the Mayor of Paris. M. Marrast pleaded ignorance. He said that he had imagined that the Paris guardians came under his administration, and did not seem inclined to give up his assumed right. The discussion was an animated one. The erroneous pretensions of M. Marrast were looked upon as dishonest, and the minister came and informed me that this body of men should remain—as

they ought to remain—under the orders of the Préfecture of Police.

The idea of organizing this police force originated with M. Ledru Rollin, who was aware also that it was high time to put a stop to the proceedings of the *Sergens de Ville*. At the same time that they were a check upon thieves, these policemen were an efficient body to quell a riot; for popular excitement, when it has not arrived at insurrection, is easily allayed by pacific means. I never had resort to any others during nearly three months, and they always succeeded.

The Préfecture of Police had, in fact, acquired such means of assuring public security, that all parties complimented me upon it; and even the *Constitutionnel*, whose editors are certainly no friends of mine, published the following note:—

"Each successive day the streets of Paris become more tranquil. We see no more processions headed by flags and drums: no more crackers; no more songs at public meetings. The thoroughfares are no longer obstructed. We sincerely congratulate Citizen Caussidiere

on this marked progress in public order. Let him persevere, and he will contribute more than is supposed towards the re-establishment of confidence and of credit."

CHAPTER XVII.

Review of the Revolution since February—Let us not allow ourselves to be robbed as in 1830—Disunion of the Provisional Government—The King and the Regency—Is the Republic necessary?—Abolition of stamps and of the laws of September—The press, the clubs, and the workmen—The right to labour—Decree of the 25th February—A stormy scene—The Ministry of Progress—MM. Garnier Pagès and Lamartine—M. Arago and his white hairs—Invention of M. Marrast—The Commission of the Luxembourg—Frankness of M. Lamartine—The decree of the workmen—It is very strong!—Louis Blanc and Albert—The place of the Peers of France—Reduction in the hours of labour—The national workshops—M. Marie imitates Penelope—Financial measures—The bank, the woods and forests of the State, the import duties—The tax of 45 centimes—Protest of Dupont de l'Eure—Reply of M. Garnier Pagès—The Government and the army—M. Cavaignac and his campaign of June—Foreign policy—M. Lamartine's manifesto—The massacres of Milan and Vienna—Electoral law of M. Cormenin—Universal suffrage—The old Constitution—From bad to worse—Four months after February.

THE Revolution of February, effected by the people for the people, did not long

maintain its original character. Although the victorious people continually exclaimed, both upon the barricades and into the ears of their improvised dictators, "Let us not allow ourselves to be robbed, as was the case in 1830!" it was easy to foresee, even in the very first days of the Republic, that the perfidious intrigues of false republicans and of the *bourgeoisie* would gradually operate a change.

In fact, the composition of the Provisional Government was so heterogeneous, that the struggle commenced on the 24th of February between two quite distinct parties who met at the Hôtel de Ville, elected by the people and by the Chamber of Deputies. Those who came from the Chamber, with the exception of Ledru Rollin, never dreamt of a Republic, and were greatly surprised, on arriving at the Place de Grève, to hear that unanimous shout of the combatants. Most of them hoped to terminate the Revolution by a regency, and they were actually on the point, as is known, of proclaiming the Count de Paris at the Palais Bourbon.

A most violent discussion consequently

arose upon this point, which had already been decided out of doors by the real power. MM. Arago and Dupont de l'Eure especially, protested loudly against proclaiming a Republic. Others hesitated, and screened themselves behind MM. Dupont de l'Eure and Arago, in opposition to MM. Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, Flocon, and Albert, so much so, that the very first words of the Provisional Government were deceitful, not to say treacherous. The manifesto placarded on the walls, and published in the first number of the Republican *Moniteur*, simply declared that the Provisional Government desired a Republican form of government, the final decision, however, to depend upon the deliberations of an assembly.

But the majority of the council were obliged to give in the very next day to the unanimous voice of the people, and a new decree officially proclaimed the Republic.

It was all of a piece—every successive act of the Provisional Government, which always commenced by opposing the popular sentiment, and sometimes ended by allowing itself to be carried away by it.

Thus, for many days, the Minister of Finance, M. Garnier Pagès, under pretext of want of funds, refused to sanction the abolition of stamps and caution money on newspapers, although vindicating the liberty of the press. It was not till the 5th March that public opinion compelled the Government to abolish the stamp duties, and till the 9th of March that it obtained the abolition of the laws of September.

What the counter-revolution feared most was the public press, the clubs, and the demands of the people for the organization of labour. Whatever may have been said afterwards to the contrary, the salient feature of the Revolution of February was social reform, and within twenty-four hours after the victory, the Government was obliged solemnly to proclaim the rights of labour.

"FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"*Paris, 25th February*, 1848.

"The Provisional Government of the French Republic engages to guarantee the existence of the workmen by labour.

"It engages to procure work for all citizens.

"It recognizes the right of workmen to associate between themselves, that they may the better enjoy the fruits of their labour.

"The Provisional Government will return to the workmen, to whom it belongs, the million which falls due to the civil list."

It was on this occasion when the problem of labour, suddenly proposed on the barricades, came to be mooted, that a most stormy scene took place in the council chamber, which clearly defined to every man who had his eyes about him what each member of the Government was.

The people were not satisfied with a simple declaration of the rights of labour, but desired to see it put into practice immediately.

The different trades, with banners bearing for a device, "*Egalité, abolition de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme,*" (No living upon other men's labour), presented themselves at the Hôtel de Ville. Their delegates, on being admitted, demanded the establishment of a ministry of labour, that is to say, a ministry of progress.

The people were waiting below, with muskets

in their hands, in a calm but determined attitude. The council entered upon the discussion at once. MM. Garnier Pagès and Lamartine spoke with extreme violence against the claims of the workmen, and intrenched themselves behind a general reserve, seeking to blink the great question at issue. They maintained that the Provisional Government should carefully avoid solving any question whatsoever; that it had neither the right, the duty, nor the power to do anything; that everything was to be referred to the decisions of the National Assembly, and that their functions ought to be restricted to the simple duties of a commmissary of police.

Louis Blanc, on the other hand, contended that it was their duty to reform the old system with the least possible delay, and to establish at once the political and social Revolution; that the future Assembly would act when it had met, but that the authority with which they had been invested by the people, conferred upon them the constituted power; that the Revolution was made by and for the working

classes, and that their first step should be to proclaim the abolition of the proletariat, and to establish the most important ministry of the Republic—the Ministry of Labour.

He moreover tendered his resignation if the wishes of the people were not complied with.

M. Arago, turning towards his young colleague, addressed him as follows:—

"Who has fulfilled the duties of a father towards you? I entreat you, in the name of my white hairs, to renounce this idea of the organization of labour. Do not separate yourself from the Provisional Government. Do you wish us all to have our throats cut?"

The people all this time were awaiting below stairs the reply of their dictators.

MM. Garnier Pagès and Marrast had withdrawn to a corner of the room, where they concocted together a sort of evasive concession, which doubtless appeared to them of little consequence.

"Instead of a ministry," said one of them, "let us establish a commission of inquiry, which will examine into the question, and

appease the people. A ministry implies action —a special commission simply prepares materials for the future."

The presidency of this commission—without power, without a budget, or any available means—was offered to Louis Blanc. He stoutly refused it, insisting that attention should be paid to the demands of the people.

M. Arago repeated his prayer over again, and offered himself as vice-president.

M. Marrast offered a palace: Louis Blanc still refused; and the people below grew impatient, and made the butt-ends of their muskets resound on the pavement.

The other members interposed; and it was finally decided to establish a commission of workmen, to sit in the Palace of the Luxembourg, with Louis Blanc for president, and Albert the workman for vice-president.

The delegates of the people were once more admitted; and after hearing what they had to say, M. Lamartine, declaring, that as far as he was concerned, he never understood what Socialism meant, announced to them nevertheless

the resolution of the Provisional Government, and the famous commission of workmen, in lieu of a ministry of progress.

On the following day the decree of this social institution was drawn up by Louis Blanc. It is the brightest page of the Revolution of February:

FRENCH REPUBLIC!

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!

"Considering that the Revolution made *by* the people, ought to be *for* the people;

"That it is time to put an end to the long and iniquitous sufferings of the working classes;

"That the question of labour is of supreme importance;

"That there is none greater, or more worthy of the solicitude of a Republican Government;

"That it is the special mission of France to study deeply, that she may solve a problem put to-day to all the commercial nations of Europe;

"That it is necessary to concert measures without delay, to guarantee to the people the legitimate fruits of their labour.

"The Provisional Government of the Republic decrees—

"A permanent commission, to be called a Commission of the Government for the Working Classes, is to be appointed, with the express and special mission of providing for their wants.

"To show the importance the Provisional Government of the Republic attaches to the solution of this great problem, it has appointed as President of the Commission of the Government for the Working Classes, one of its own members, M. Louis Blanc, and for Vice-President, another of its members, M. Albert, workman.

"Workmen will be chosen to form part of the commission.

"The commission will hold its sittings at the Palace of the Luxembourg.

(Signed) "ARMAND MARRAST.
"GARNIER PAGES.
"ARAGO.
"ALBERT.
"MARIE.
"CREMIEUX.
"DUPONT DE L'EURE.
"LOUIS BLANC.
"LEDRU ROLLIN.
"FLOCON.
"LAMARTINE."

When M. Marrast took the pen to sign this revolutionary decree, he exclaimed, "It is very strong! It is very strong!"

It was M. Marrast who drew up the other special decree, granting the Palace of the Luxembourg to the commission of workmen.

The workmen called upon to take a share in the commission, did not evince the slightest astonishment, but very coolly took the seats formerly occupied by the Peers of France.

M. Arago was present at this solemn installation.

The first demand of the workmen was a reduction in the hours of labour, and the abolition of the system of doing work by the day. They founded their demands on the fraternal consideration that the longer the day is, the fewer workmen are employed, and that the workmen engaged deprive their "mates" of a portion of their work, which might be divided between a greater number of them. They denounced excessive labour, as an obstacle to education, and to the intellectual developement of the people.

The history of the Luxembourg is known, where the workmen gave proofs of so much zeal and sobriety of mind, and Louis Blanc and Albert of so much devotion. Besides the services it rendered in that revolutionary period, the commission of the Luxembourg had the honour of inaugurating the social question, and of giving a precise definition to the character of the new Republic.

About the same time, the Provisional Government decreed the establishment of the

national workshops, probably as a counterpoise to the Luxembourg.

It was M. Marie, who, in his quality of Minister of Public Works, organized the national workshops. It was he also, in his quality of member of the Executive Committee, who ordered their dissolution, for most of these men hastened to undo the little work they had done while under the influence of the people.

The financial measures, so incomplete and so timid, and at times so contrary to the democratic sentiments, or to the destinies of the revolution, gave especial rise to violent discussion.

It was the Bank which M. Garnier Pagès took under his protection, and he issued various decrees in its favour. It was next the woods and forests of the State, which the Minister of Finance wished to sell or cut down, without a thought about devastating the surface of our fair France. It was taxes on the food of the poor; the barrier duties on wine or meat, of which the majority of the Government demanded the maintenance. But, in a word, it was the fatal tax of forty-five centimes

which deprived the Republic of the sympathy of the country.

Louis Blanc, Albert, and Dupont de l'Eure, alone protested against this exorbitant tax, which fell equally upon the poor and upon the rich, upon the small and upon the great. They demanded, at least, a line of demarcation to be drawn, below which the tax was not to be applied. M. Garnier Pagès answered, that when put into operation, the poor would not be called upon to pay, but that it was desirable not to alarm the rich.

One of the subjects that most anxiously occupied the attention of the Government, was the military. It regretted that the army was no longer at its call; but it paid compliments to its officers. And, on the 28th of February, as though by a presentiment, it elevated M. Cavaignac to the rank of General, and soon after he was called to the Ministry of War. After the 25th February, he created the Garde Mobile, to enlist and discipline the *gamins* of the barricades.

The army, however, was still kept at a dis-

tance from Paris. It was well said in a proclamation to the soldiers:

"Liberty will not demand other services from you than those you will rejoice to perform for her sake, and by which you will glorify yourselves before her enemies."

But the counter-revolutionary majority of the Hôtel de Ville would not have been sorry to have had the protection of a few regiments, and by degrees it kept bringing the troops nearer to the capital, notwithstanding the opposition of the public press and of the clubs.

We have seen in June, and since the glorious services which the Executive Commission and the state of siege have demanded from the army, how French soldiers, employed by M. Cavaignac, have had occasion to rejoice in the presence of Liberty!

The foreign policy was as perfidiously conducted as the rest by the Provisional Government.

After the eloquent manifesto of M. Lamartine, men of discernment saw at a glance,

that the inactivity of the French Republic would lose the Revolution in Europe. Alas! the successors of M. Lamartine, improving upon this cowardly policy, have abandoned to their fate the people who rose against their oppressors. Who, alas! will be responsible to posterity for the evils that have befallen Italy and Germany, Prussia and Austria;—for the massacres of Milan and of Vienna? Surely not revolutionary France, but the unworthy Government, which, like the monarchy, has betrayed the cause of humanity—of human freedom.

The greatest fault committed by the Provisional Government in its internal affairs, was the adoption of the vicious electoral system, which it received from the hands of M. le Vicomte de Cormenin.

If the only fruit of our victory, which they have not dared to deprive us of, is universal suffrage, the organization of that suffrage was so falsely combined, that its results jarred upon the public opinion of the nation. The principle of the sovereignty of the people is adopted; but the manner in which it is applied, is far

from responding to a sincere expression of that sovereignty.

By degrees, also, the Constituent Assembly has abolished, one by one, all the popular measures which emanated from the Hôtel de Ville, whilst it was under the influence of the first effervescence of February.

If the democratic and social party already demanded the revision of a constitution only eight days old, it will have to revise more especially, or rather to create, an electoral law, which will guarantee the true and full expression of the collective sovereignty.

Thus, beginning with faults and pursuing them, the Provisional Government compromised daily the Revolution which had entrusted its destinies to their safe-guard.

Indifference or cowardice without, hesitation or treachery within, incapacity everywhere, the Provisional Government abandoned more and more a glorious cause, for which France had already fought so often and suffered so much!

Only six weeks after the fall of Royalty, royalists, conservatives of the old régime, aris-

tocrats of every description, already threatened the security of the Republic.

We arrive at the 16th of April, where, for the first time since February, reaction assumed the upper hand, and brought to the direct question the character of our democratic and social revolution. How long will it be ere it reassume its legitimate preponderance?

Four months after February, day by day Paris was in a state of siege, and liberty was abolished!

France was kept down by brute force, and the late councillors of Louis Philippe came forward to seize upon the ministries of the Republic!

END OF VOL. I.

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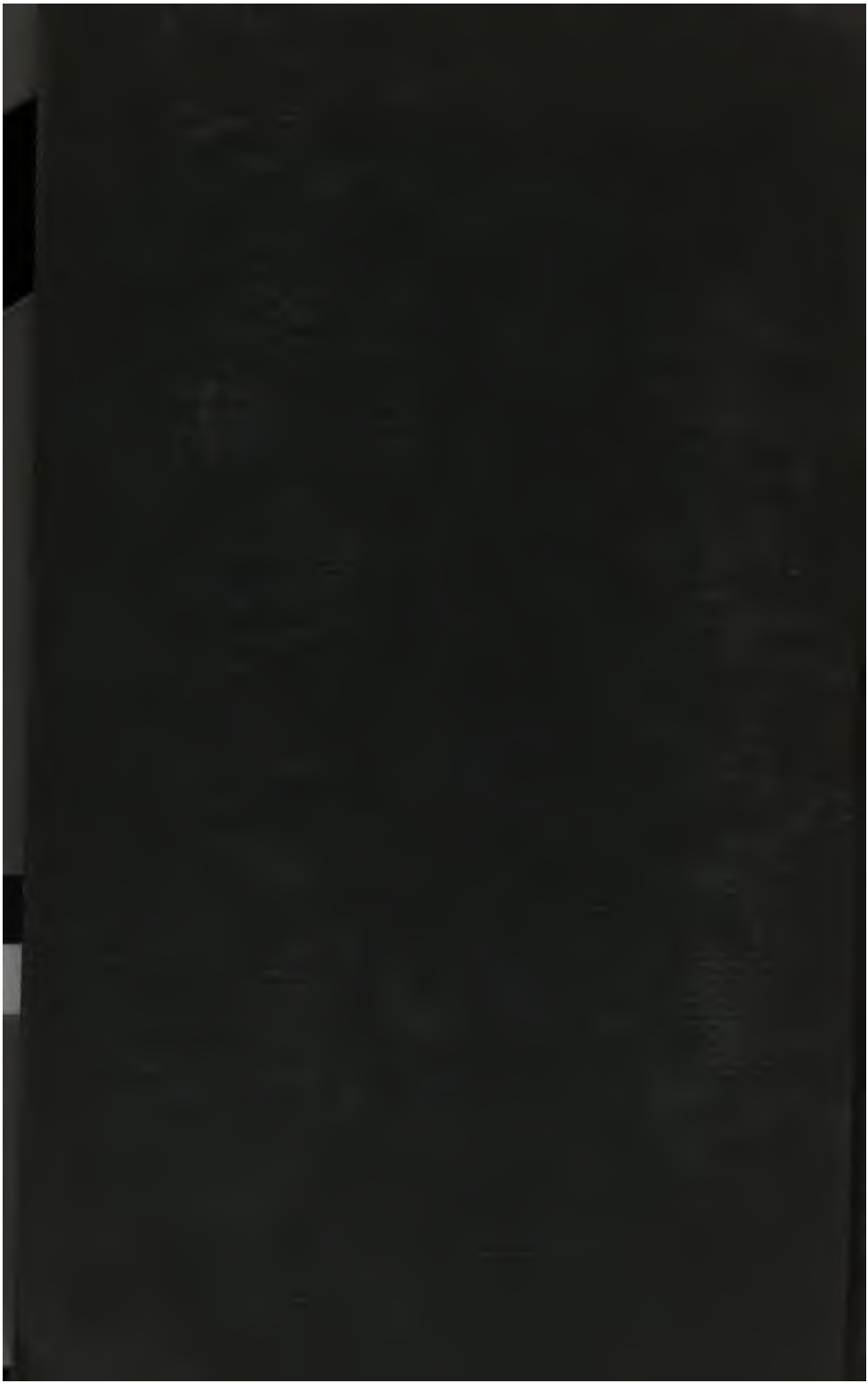

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